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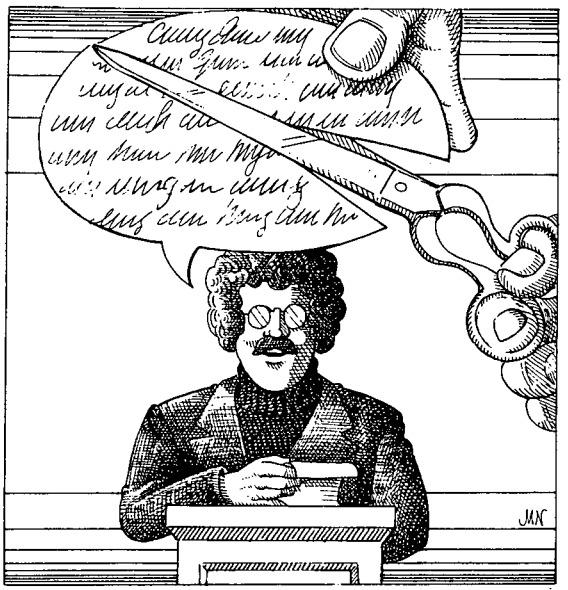

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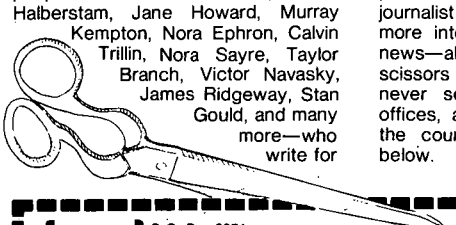

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VOLUME SIX NUMBER ONE
MARCH 1974

Inside the Educational Testing Service—Or the Plot to Multiple-Choice Us from Cradle to Grave
by Eric Rodriguez
ETS is to No. 2 pencils what General Motors is to steel. There's money in meritocracy. 5

The Distinctions Pollsters Don't Make
by Michael Rappeport
If ignorance is bliss, then Gallup and Harris have been interviewing a lot of happy people. 13

TIDBITS AND OUTRAGES 16

It Takes Energy to Make Energy: The Net's the Thing
by Edward Flattau and Jeff Stansbury
When it takes the energy produced by 801 tons of coal to mine another 800 tons, we're in trouble. The energy problem nobody wants to face. 20

SPECIAL BOOK SECTION

Political Book Award 27

Will Editors Ever Love Flaubert?
by James Fallows
Will they ever learn that fact and color and opinion don't have to be segregated but could be combined to produce a journalism that's genuinely "new" and needed, that the "novelist's eye" of a Ward Just can illumine fact without sacrificing fidelity to fact? 30

Cold Dawn and the Mind of Kissinger
by Graham Allison
Like Stanley and Speke, Newhouse and Graubard advanced from different directions into the uncharted land of Kissinger's mind. Much of the territory remains impenetrable, but what we do know we owe to these authors. In addition, Newhouse provides the first detailed documentation for an important bureaucratic truth—the impact of intra-governmental negotiation on inter-governmental diplomacy. 38

The Legacy of SDS
by Suzannah Lessard
For one writer who was there, it is a surprising combination of reaction and reaffirmation. 50

Political Book Notes 61

MEMO OF THE MONTH 18 **POLITICAL PUZZLE** 37

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Inside ETS – Or the Plot to Multiple-Choice Us From Cradle to Grave

by Eric Rodriguez

The Educational Testing Service (ETS):
a) is a non-profit institution;
b) makes almost $2 million annually;
c) has a contract "in perpetuity" to produce the College Boards;
d) is more than five times the size of its closest competitor;
e) all of the above.

You score 800 and probably will get to attend "the college of your choice" if you answered "e) all of the above." But don't be discouraged if you didn't score in a high percentile on this little test. Your confusion is understandable because the inner workings of ETS are little known outside of educational circles. What public attention ETS has received has generally been concerned with the impact on American education of multiple choice tests like the Scholastic Aptitude Test (better known as the SAT or "College Boards"), the Law School Achievement Test (LSAT or "Law Boards") and the Graduate Record Exam. Such debates probably peaked during the mid-1960s when the College Boards played a major role in selecting the small percentage of the products of the post-war baby boom who got to attend a prestige university.

Even more enlightening questions remain to be asked about other aspects of ETS' performance, especially about how it has responded in its recent role as an imperiled institution. Educational circumstances have changed remarkably in the 27 years since ETS administered its first test. The "college entry crunch" of the last two decades has subsided, and while competition has increased among candidates for law and medical schools, the over-all demand for

Eric Rodriguez is a Maryland journalist and a veteran of countless ETS exams.

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educational testing has undoubtedly fallen.

Yet ETS has neither reduced its staff nor restricted its operations in the face of slack demand—a reaction that might have surprised the educators who first chartered ETS to serve as a convenience to the universities. ETS is larger now than ever, and it is still growing. The most intriguing question in this story is why ETS' will-to-grow surprises us. Its course toward survival has been entirely predictable. It is neither a private business nor a public organization, yet like both of them it has employees who must be supplied with the kind of work they know how to do. ETS has done this by diversifying into new activities, by fighting hard to retain jurisdiction over threatened areas, and by generating a demand for products no one knew he needed before. When government employees start to defend a program simply because it keeps them in work, we call it featherbedding. When business convinces us we need to buy more deodorants and bigger cars, we can see Madison Avenue's hand. But when ETS operates behind its veil of "non-profit" probity, we spare it the skeptical eye with which we view other organizations. Even if we were alerted, the "non-profit" veil can conceal many activities. If a business wants to sell us deodorants, it has to advertise. If ETS wants to increase the demand for its test, the selling job goes on in college administrative offices, and the captive student never really has any choice in the matter. ETS cannot retain any profit or pay dividends, but that does not prevent it from building up a cash-flow "surplus" that many businesses would envy. If the surplus cannot be sopped up by salaries and expenses before it reaches the bottom line, it can be reinvested in more institutional expansion. ETS and its non-profit sisters are not despoiling the environment or rigging oil prices or doing anything outside the norms of business practice—but because it is behaving like other corporations, it is worth lifting its veils.

ETS got its start in educational testing back in 1947, when the College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB), the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and the American Council on Education joined to create a non-profit corporation authorized to "engage in... services, research, and other activities in the field of educational testing...." CEEB, faced with soaring numbers of college applicants, asked ETS to produce examinations which might separate the wheat from the chaff.

Even today, these CEEB-commissioned College Boards constitute the largest single program in the ETS repertoire. But the corporation has come a long way since 1947. One official estimates that ETS has doubled its volume of business every five years since its founding. It now has regional offices in Evanston, Berkeley, and Austin (although most employees are based in Princeton, where the organization had its beginnings). Its several-hundred acre Princeton "campus" is dominated by eight large buildings—including a warehouse where forklifts stack bales of ETS publications, the recently constructed Chauncey Conference Center (which has already, according to ETS officials, achieved an "occupancy rate above expectations"), and offices for a work force of almost 2,000.

This real estate was assessed at $26.5 million in 1972. But an even better picture of the corporation's size can be derived from ETS' balance sheet. In fiscal 1972, ETS grossed $47.9 million—not enough to put it on the *Fortune* 500 list, but enough to equal the budget of a medium-sized university. More significantly, income exceeded expenditures by $1.9 million. In the crass world of private enterprise this $1.9 million would be called profit and be subject to taxes. But in the non-profit world of ETS, this tax-free $1.9 million surplus is turned into investment capital to fund ventures like the Chauncey

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Conference Center.

Not only in size but also in scope, ETS has gone far beyond the visions of 1947. In fact, one ETS official remarked that the organization had outgrown its very name, because "Educational Testing Service" no longer adequately suggests its range of activities. In recent years, ETS has, for example, designed tests to measure the vocation-related skills of stockbrokers, realtors, automobile mechanics, housing managers, and golf shop pros. So that now not only college admissions officers, but also employers interested in rationalizing their personnel departments may turn to ETS for assistance.

ETS has also broadened its horizons at the other end of the age scale and now has tests for pre-schoolers as well. At the Infant Laboratory in Princeton, researchers behind one-way mirrors monitor the behavior of four- and five-month-old "paid" subjects in studies on cognitive development. ETS also designed a battery of tests for Children's Television Workshop (a growing educational conglomerate in its own right), which was interested in testing how effective *Sesame Street* and the *Electric Company* have been in educating children.

The *Sesame Street* contract is typical of most ETS research, which, in the words of one institutional official, is done largely "in response to requests" from government agencies, educational associations and—that other bastion of non-profitability—foundations. This educational "R&D" work has been a key growth area for ETS. In 1968, the Educational Testing Service received $1.8 million for 105 research projects. Within five years the number of projects had more than doubled to 241 annually, and the payments had tripled to $5.5 million—about 11 per cent of ETS' revenues. To guarantee a steady stream of research "requests," ETS maintains a six-person Washington office where staffers pore over publications like the *Commerce Business Daily*, looking for contracts on which

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to bid.

Nonetheless, the CEEB examination program remains ETS' best-selling product. In 1972, for example, 1.6 million students took the Scholastic Aptitude Test, which ETS produced for CEEB on a 7½-percent "cost-plus" contract. But "test volume decline" has become a major concern at ETS. In fact, it was the first topic mentioned by corporate officials when I talked with them in Princeton. This problem is directly linked to a decrease in college applications due to lowered birthrates during the 1950s, the end of the need for a draft deferment, and a small, but steady, decline in the social pressure to "get into a good school." Fewer students are applying to the more selective four-year colleges, and more are going part-time or attending junior colleges, which usually don't require SAT scores.

A decade ago, public service announcements asked ominously, "When your child is ready for college, will college be ready for him?" Today, there are 500,000 vacancies on college campuses for the current school year. Where once college applicants were lucky to get a tour of the campus and a perfunctory handshake at the admissions office, now many are wined, dined, and perhaps otherwise entertained, in a manner once reserved for athletes.

The demographics are difficult enough for ETS, but the trend that must seem even more pernicious is the spread of open admissions policies, which often makes completion of high school the only requirement for college acceptance. This trend strikes at the raison d'etre of the SAT, whose aim is to rationalize the process of selection. Even where open admissions policy has not been embraced, admissions officers are beginning to question the value of tests such as the SAT. As an official at a moderately selective Washington, D. C., university put it, "Are test scores necessary when you're already accepting 80 per cent of your applicants?" The SAT scores themselves, he explained, are not strong predictors of academic performance. They can improve a "prediction index" derived from such measures of performance as grade average and rank in class, but, "Do you need that additional refinement? We never did."

Recycling with Elan

Diversification into other forms of research is not the only strategy ETS has developed to combat "test volume decline." When confronted with steadily dwindling sales, most companies redesign their product in hope of reaching a wider market. But few do it with the elan that ETS has displayed in facing its current crisis. As a creature of the CEEB, an association representing academic institutions, ETS has always emphasized the interests of college admissions offices. Now, instead of expecting the colleges to motivate students to take the tests, ETS is now trying to appeal directly to the student. ETS has repackaged the old tests that weeded students out for the Vassar admissions office and now offers the tests and a host of other services to help students decide where to go to college and what to do with their careers.

The concept of student-as-consumer represents a 180-degree turn for ETS. Back in the late 1940s, SAT scores went directly to the designated colleges under the theory that students were not mature enough to know their own abilities. Later the process was modified so that copies of SAT scores were sent to high-school guidance counselors who presumably decided whether it was in the best interest of the student to know his scores. Direct reporting of SAT scores to the students is a relatively new development. Now ETS has come all the way around and lets students decide, after receiving their scores, what schools they want them sent to.

In 1970, the notion of student-as-consumer was dignified with a Commission on Tests sponsored by the

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CEEB. The Commission recommended that "a symmetry or balance should exist between the services that the CEEB offers to potential entrants and those that it offers to colleges." Among the services now offered the student are the College Locator Service, a kind of computer dating service to ease the admissions rat-race (or what is left of it), and the *College Handbook*, a college guide stressing such information as the average SAT scores of freshmen at individual colleges. And this is just the beginning: David Nolan, director of the Washington office of ETS, described a program now in the R&D stage which would enable the student to "interact" with a computer on a "real time" basis, feeding information about himself into the computer, and retrieving answers to questions about his future academic career. The federal government is helping pick up the tab for this program; the "software" for this computer interaction guidance service is being funded under a National Science Foundation grant.

ACTing on Competition

It is only fair to mention that much of ETS' haste in developing these new services for the student comes from that most American of motives, healthy competition. The Iowa-based American College Testing Program (ACT), a non-profit corporation founded 15 years ago, is ETS' closest rival. ACT produces the exams used by the less selective state colleges and universities, especially those in the Midwest, while ETS has always had a definite Eastern bias. ACT, which calls ETS the "sleeping giant," is a leaner, less diversified number two, with roughly one-sixth the staff and one-fifth the budget of ETS. Like ETS, ACT experienced "test volume decline," but somewhat later than its rival. In the resulting shift of markets, both corporations began to make inroads into the traditional domains of the other.

ACT, which traditionally served admissions offices more concerned with counseling and placement than with selection of students, has responded more nimbly than ETS to changed circumstances, especially the open-admissions problem. After all, ACT grew up in a part of the country where open admissions was the rule rather than the exception. Consequently, the older Eastern institution is now looking to its younger Midwestern counterpart for guidance in redefining its role. The ACT Student Profile Section, a standard component of the ACT student assessment program, for example, obviously influenced the design of the ETS Student Descriptive Questionnaire (SDQ), a recent addition to the Admissions Testing Program. (Incidentally, students who complete SDQs may find themselves besieged with letters from unheard of colleges around the country. Before forwarding SDQs to designated colleges, ETS stores information from the questionnaires in computers programmed to produce customized mailing lists for colleges willing to buy the names of desirable candidates.)

With these advantages, ACT has beaten ETS several times in recent years. ACT produced a coup of major dimensions when it recently won the contract for the Basic Education Opportunity Grant from the federal government, a contract ETS was already counting as its own. Last year, the Association of American Medical Colleges, apparently dissatisfied with ETS' handling of the Medical College Admission Test (MCAT), offered the contract for bidding. ACT underbid ETS, winning not only the contract, but also an invitation to design both guidance programs for pre-med students not accepted by medical schools and evaluation procedures for doctors in need of refresher courses.

Following the transfer of the MCAT, the Law School Admission Council, which contracts with ETS for the Law School Admission Test and other admissions programs, approached ACT to discuss possible transfer of the LSAT contract. One

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reason for the Council's restlessness was the way ETS was handling a service called the Law School Data Assembly (LSDAS). This service was a concept of quite remarkable effrontery, for it forced the students to pay for what they'd been doing themselves all along. At each school where ETS convinced the admissions office to go along with LSDAS, the student would no longer send his customary packet of transcripts, letters of recommendation, and application forms. Instead, he had to pay LSDAS $15 for the privilege of having it do the same thing—collecting transcripts and recommendations, and passing them on to the school in a standardized form. This would just be a textbook make-work project if LSDAS did not exercise its tyrannical power over the student (if LSDAS loses the information, the schools will never consider your application) in such a remarkably capricious way. An American studying at Oxford applied early to Harvard Law School on its rolling admission plan under which students are accepted in waves rather than all at once. When several months went by with no word from Harvard, he called the school only to be informed that his LSDAS records had never arrived. The deadline for applications had not passed, and LSDAS assured him that his records would be forwarded immediately. As the crucial moment approached, the student checked again with Harvard: no records. Urgent appeals to LSDAS produced the records at the last minute. A Boston College law student suffered a similar experience. She applied to nine law schools. The eight which used LSDAS never received her records. She was able to attend law school only because Boston College did not subscribe to LSDAS.

Such bungling is not confined to any one division of ETS, nor is it solely confined to those divisions that serve students. Institutional clients also encounter incompetence: the admissions office of a Washington, D. C. university contracted with ETS for a study of the validity of its selection procedures. The university eagerly awaited the results of the study—their first such in several years—but ETS had nothing to say. Inquiries revealed that extensive and difficult-to-duplicate data submitted by the university to ETS had been accidentally erased from computer tapes—three months earlier.

Siamese Twins in Perpetuity

None of this threatens to undermine the contracts for the SATs. The relationship between ETS and CEEB still guarantees that ETS will run the tests, although in other ways the relationship has changed considerably since 1947. Indeed, its current status is like the tail (ETS) wagging the dog (CEEB). ETS calls the relationship a "dialogue," but a CEEB staffer comes a good deal closer when he speaks of a "symbiotic dependency." Asked to elaborate, he explained that the relationship seemed so "murky" and "ad hoc-ish," that in practice he scarcely distinguished between the two groups. Indeed, people do shuttle back and forth between ETS and CEEB as readily as they might between different branches in the same corporation.

How does CEEB regard its progeny? Created to serve the interests of the member institutions of the Board, ETS now engages in activities that lead it far from the field of educational testing. To be sure, CEEB itself no longer focuses its attention exclusively on that small interval between high school and college in which students and schools make their choices. But it hardly shares the range of interests that occupy ETS. Nothing in its charter explicitly bars ETS from pursuing these far-flung interests. One clause, however, prohibits competition with the activities of the founding institutions. There is some feeling that ETS has violated this clause, in spirit at least, by reusing, or recasting, materials originally developed for CEEB—as when ETS adapted the Financial Need Analysis Report sys-

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tem, designed for a CEEB council, for the Graduate and Professional School Financial Aid Service, a program administered by ETS for an association of graduate institutions.

Despite these internecine squabbles, the relationship itself doesn't seem in peril. Actually divorce between the two institutions would be difficult, since they seem to be forever joined, like Siamese twins—a clause in the original contract between CEEB and ETS prevents CEEB from contracting with any other agency to produce its admissions testing program. A former president of the CEEB described this arrangement as a "contract in perpetuity." Moreover, ETS is in the enviable position of being guaranteed business by all of the individual members of the CEEB. While colleges and universities may join CEEB for various reasons, all are required to use at least one ETS service.

Not satisfied with this minimum of guaranteed business, ETS pressures member institutions to use more than one service. An administrator at a member university described with some indignation the ETS promotion techniques: a new service is generally announced in a pair of letters, one to the president of the university, the other to the admissions director. The effect of this double-teaming may be to put the admissions director "in the hot seat" when his boss starts asking why the school is not employing the latest from ETS.

Nor is ETS above junketing potential clients. A school board administrator from a prosperous Washington, D. C., suburb spoke of the "impressive building program" on the Princeton "campus" of ETS, adding quickly that she had visited there on occasion: "As you may know. . . they sponsor all kinds of meetings. . . workshops. . . for professional people." Small wonder the Chauncey Conference Center has an "occupancy rate above expectations."

Other promotional devices de-

U.S. NATIONAL INTERESTS IN A CHANGING WORLD

By Donald E. Nuechterlein. Presents a calculated framework to assess our national interests in the 1970s—defense, economy and world order. "interesting and informative reading."—*Perspective* / $8.00

A HISTORY OF REGULATORY TAXATION

By R. Alton Lee. Traces in detail the development of this regulatory power by the Congress and the constitutional conflicts it presents to the Supreme Court—gun control, gambling and narcotics. / $15.25

THE BANKING CRISIS OF 1933

By Susan Estabrook Kennedy. Current economic uncertainties lend particular pertinence to this first complete account of the 1933 banking "holiday." Of special interest is an examination of relations between Hoover and FDR. / $13.25

THE CRISIS OF DEMOCRATIC THEORY

By Edward A. Purcell, Jr. This far-reaching analysis carefully details the hard-fought and continuing struggle between absolutists and relativists in America in the 20th century. "lucid, informative, perceptive, and commendably fair-minded."—*JAH* / $11.50

DAMS, PARKS & POLITICS

By Elmo Richardson. A chronicle of the myopia and gamesmanship that dominated Americans' understanding of their environment on the eve of the nation's ecology crisis, by the author of *The Politics of Conservation.* / $11.25

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS OF KENTUCKY
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY 40506

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signed to boost "sales" amount to pure hucksterism. One ETS publication mailed to admissions officers lists nearly 100 institutions which participate in a certain program. "It is hoped," explains the brochure, "that additional colleges and universities will join this *consortium* [italics added]; their names will be added to successive editions of this list." There's the incentive: get your college's name associated in print with such fellow "consortium" members as Harvard and Stanford. This kind of appeal is particularly well-suited to higher education where "academic quality" is so nebulous a concept that institutions place a disproportionate emphasis on the importance of these symbolic linkages with "great" universities. ETS shrewdly plays on these insecurities by fostering the notion that use of their services can bolster an academic reputation. Some colleges that admit virtually all applicants still require the submission of SAT scores. The scores are not used by the admissions office, rather they are required to create the impression that the school is on a par with more selective institutions where the College Boards still play an important role in determining who will enter the freshman class.

Yet most colleges and universities don't seem to mind the aggressive marketing strategy employed by ETS. Their tolerance grows from the College Entrance Examination Board's mantle of academic respectability, and its paternal connection with ETS. ETS then flourishes largely because it is free from the laws of the market. This independence releases ETS from any responsibility to its ultimate client, the test-taker. The failures of the Law School Data Assembly Service can't be dismissed as simply a corporate snafu that jeopardized an important contract. Rather this corporate error may have unfairly prevented a number of students from attending law school. Yet ETS is far too insulated from the pressures of the marketplace to feel any real responsibility for these fiascos.

Despite ETS' near monopoly position, its publications are redolent with the ethos of venture capitalism. Take, for example, the November, 1973, issue of the ETS house organ, aptly titled *Examiner*, that proclaimed in a banner headline, "Finances Brightening, Officers Say." Reading on, we encounter the president of ETS encouraging employees with news that "we have strong areas of growth. . . . This is a difficult time, but we've started many promising ventures. We have the resources to carry through, and what we need now is faith and hard work." ETS employees are exhorted that there must be "no relenting of effort." All this, while the "non-profit" institution expects to finish the fiscal year with a net income of over $1 million.

All this adds credence to the claims of those who accuse ETS of unfairly exploiting its special status. The commercial firms active in the field (such as Science Research Associates, Houghton Mifflin Company, and Westinghouse Learning Corporation) find themselves at a severe disadvantage bidding on contracts against ETS. As a non-profit, non-stock corporation, the Educational Testing Service enjoys tax-exempt status and therefore doesn't have to allow for taxation in calculating its bids.

So ETS uses its special status as a non-profit institution, as the creature of respectable academic associations, to strengthen its hold on the testing market. But that market is shrinking. As colleges hustle to attract students, ETS must scramble to create new products and new demands for old ones. As our institutions of higher education, those erstwhile bastions of moral superiority, descend into the hurly-burly of the marketplace, they'll find ETS—the ETS of the "Rosedale" Princeton "campus," of the quiet muted earth-tone booklets—already well established there, thoroughly versed in the techniques and values of cutthroat free enterprise, and perhaps even willing to share its expertise, at a modest price. ■

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The Distinction the Pollsters Don't Make

by Michael Rappeport

Public opinion polls on policy issues have become an unquestioned part of our political life. They are taken seriously as an index of national sentiment in domestic affairs and, admittedly to a somewhat lesser extent, in foreign policy. The polls are not what some people once feared they would become: unofficial referenda that automatically determine a politician's actions. They are, more modestly, conceived as indicators which can help inform political decisions.

As polling has become a more serious ingredient in our political process, the public and the press have become increasingly aware of the importance of interpreting survey data properly. In publishing polls, the press has grown more scrupulous about stating essential facts about the survey: when it was taken, and whether the interviews were done in person or over the telephone. Even with these data stated, the public is more skeptical now than before about the objectivity of the survey questions themselves. Those who take polls and those who rely on their results are also aware of the risk of biased questions, and they have tried to design and implement polls that present accurate reflections of public opinion. Their objective is to word the question in such a way that people on both sides of a policy issue will agree that the survey is not "loaded" against them.

These corrections are welcome, but they are far from sufficient. There is an entirely different type of problem which we must also face if the polls are to enlighten us rather than mislead. Before assuming that a poll reflects public opinion, we should find out just what proportion of the adult public has any opinion to reflect. It is my experience that, startlingly often and over a wide spectrum of issues, substantial minorities or even majorities of people questioned do not have even the barest minimum of factual information on which to base an opinion. One's natural assumption is likely to be that this problem is solved by the "don't know" or "no opinion" categories on most published polls; if people don't know about the issue, they'll say so to the questioner. This assumption is wrong, because the proportion of these responses is misleadingly low. It is human nature not to want to admit ignorance. Since a public opinion survey is one test in which the subject is not penalized for guessing, respondents who have not thought the issue out—or perhaps even heard of it—may simply blurt out an answer. This eagerness to answer often leads to survey results that distort public opinion. This failure to consider the

Michael Rappeport is a vice president of Opinion Research Corporation and a contributing editor of The Washington Monthly.

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"ignorance factor" leads to two wrong conclusions: it overstates the percentage of the public holding strong opinions on an issue, and it obscures how quickly public opinion could change if a certain issue dominated the headlines and the facts became widely known.

Two examples from recent surveys conducted by Opinion Research Corporation illustrate this problem. The questions themselves are not what is significant. Rather, it is the sharp difference of opinion between those who know and those who don't know a few key facts.

The first poll was a regional study, containing a section on public attitudes towards electric utilities. A major element in the study was the attitudes toward public ownership of utilities. Where the survey was taken, the entire geographic area studied was served by privately owned utilities. The key question in this section was, "Which of these groups do you think *should* own and operate the electric light and power company?" The four alternatives offered were individual investors, or city, state, or federal government. The results:

Individual investors	52%
City, state or federal government	36%
No opinion	12%

Thus only a bare majority actually favored private ownership which prevailed at the time. From these data a politician might theorize that there was considerable hostility to the local utilities, and strong potential political support for public ownership of the power companies.

The study contained several other questions dealing with factual knowledge rather than attitudes. Two of these illustrate both the low level of public knowledge and the impact which this general ignorance can have on attitudes.

The first question was, "Which group on this card do you think owns the electric light and power company here?" Again the possible answers were private investors and the three levels of government. The second question was, "To the best of your knowledge, does any governmental agency regulate the profits and rates of your local electric light and power company?" Both of these questions are clearly relevant to forming an opinion as to who should own the local power company. We divided the respondents into three groups according to whether they answered correctly both, one, or neither question. Just about one third of the respondents fell into each group.

Table 1 shows the proportions of each group which favored various forms of ownership and, for reference, the overall figures.

The chart shows a clear difference of opinion between those who are factually knowledgeable and those who aren't. The difference is greater than any of the differences which normally appear in such standard breakdowns as age, sex, income, or region. Moreover, this analysis suggests that the facile assumption of widespread dissatisfaction with the

TABLE I

	Number of Respondents	% favoring investors	% favoring government	% don't know
All respondents	1546	52	36	12
Both knowledge questions correct	523	82	16	2
One knowledge question correct	526	53	37	10
Neither knowledge question correct	497	12	57	31

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local utilities is probably wrong. The sentiment for public ownership is more a reflection of ignorance than a desire for a change.

Our second example is from a poll done in early January under the direction of Warren Mitofsky of CBS News. The poll dealt with attitudes toward problems in the Middle East. It contained a fairly long series of attitude questions, interspersed with several factual questions. Two of these factual questions were used to classify respondents into three groups:

> To the best of your knowledge, approximately how much of the total oil used in the United States usually comes from the Arab countries? . . . Is it less than 20 per cent of all the oil we consume, is it somewhere between 20 per cent and 50 per cent of all the oil we consume, or is it more than 50 per cent of our total oil consumption?

and

> Based on what you know, has Israel mostly gained or mostly lost territory since it was set up in 1948, or has there been no change in Israel's territory?

Another question dealt with American views of Arab intentions:

> Some people believe the Arab countries are out to destroy Israel as a nation. Others say the Arabs are not out to destroy Israel, that they are only interested in regaining the land lost to the Israelis in the 1967 war. Which do you think is true—are the Arabs out to destroy Israel, or are they only interested in regaining their land?

This attitude question is particularly interesting because it presupposes knowledge of Israeli territorial gains, one of the two factual questions used for analysis. Table 2 shows the results.

Again, the differences based on factual knowledge are dramatic. Almost half of those who got both questions right believed that the Arab goal is to destroy Israel, while the figure drops to one in five among those who knew the correct answer for neither. (Perhaps the best-informed people of all said "don't know" because the questions contained such vague terms as "the Arab goal.") Interestingly, not knowing that Israel had gained ground did not prevent people from answering "regaining the ground" as the Arabs' goal. Thus the support for a fairly hard-line policy would appear to be much greater among the knowledgeable, but the overall results obscure this finding.

Perhaps it should be *de rigeur* that the reporting of polls on public policy issues should include some breakdown by defined levels of knowledge. This is certainly not to suggest that the better-informed opinions should automatically be taken more seriously. On many issues—the Middle East among them—the very best informed people are those who are passionately committed to a side and who have a constant appetite for information on the subject. But breakdowns by sex and region don't imply that one group's opinion is worth more than another's. The distinctions are useful guides for interpreting polls, and a knowledge guide would be, too. ■

TABLE II

ARAB INTENTIONS

	Number of respondents	Destroy Israel	Regain Land	Both or neither	No opinion
All respondents	1231*	28%	52%	5%	15%
Both knowledge questions correct	351	41%	45%	8%	6%
One knowledge question correct	328	34%	50%	5%	11%
Neither knowledge question correct	320	15%	59%	4%	22%

*All questions were not asked to all respondents.

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Tidbits and Outrages

Holiday Recess

In June we have the spring spending spree, when government agencies desperately hand out contracts to anybody to do anything so that they can exhaust their appropriations for the fiscal year and not be exposed before Congress as having asked for more money than they needed. There is another kind of spree each December. It practically shuts down the government as thousands of employees go on leave. The reason is a law that says federal employees can carry forward only 30 days of accumulated leave to the next year. John Cramer of *The Washington Star-News* estimates that during the last three weeks of the year between 30 and 50 per cent of all government employees are on leave.

Nattering Nabobs of Negativism

The White House's paranoia about the "Eastern press" is not without foundation. One of the rare pieces of recent good news for President Nixon was Egil Krogh's statement on CBS' "60 Minutes" on January 27 that John Dean had told him last March 20 that the President was unaware of the Watergate cover-up. To say the least, this tended to support Nixon's contention that he didn't know of the cover-up until March 21 and was made even more newsworthy by advance prediction in *The Wall Street Journal* and elsewhere that Krogh would blow Nixon out of the water. Here's how *The New York Times* played the story on January 28: Below the fold on page 15 under the head,

Krogh Says Dean
Reported Cover-Up
To Nixon in March

". . . is the name, meaningful dialog is the game."

Next to its memoranda, the government press releases are probably the outstanding source of bureaucratic prose at its best. A recent example from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare announcing the appointment of a new special assistant for external affairs said that the appointee "will be responsible for enhancing the opportunities for a continuing meaningful dialog between the department and interest groups, and for insuring departmental responsiveness to concerns for input into the formulation of HEW policies and programs as well as requests for information."

Making Tracks toward Unprofitability

The Washington Post recently ran this letter from Bruce E. H. Johnson of Cambridge, England:

Spurred by the energy crisis and continuing bankruptcies, Americans are finally beginning to do something about their decaying railroad network. With the recent creation by Congress of a Consolidated Rail Corporation under the new federally financed United States Railway Association, a long-overdue revitalization of the nation's rail system has made its first step.

I am disheartened to hear, however, that the new corporation will begin its life by paring 7,000 to 11,000 miles of "unprofitable" tracks from the 26,000 miles acquired from the seven railroads included in the recent act. British Rail, which took over the British railway network several years ago, made this same mistake. It slashed "unprofitable" branch lines in the name of efficiency which, naturally enough, cut the volume of traffic flowing into other lines, which made them, in turn "unprofitable" and forced further cuts all along the rail network. Now as this process has continued, rail business in Britain has continued to worsen and the road haulers have begun to introduce juggernaut lorries to handle the freight forced off the rails.

Marxism in the Doghouse

Here's something new for our conservative friends to worry about: socialized animal medicine. *The Washington Star-News* reports that a proposal by the nearby Montgomery County (Md.) Council to establish a low-cost pet sterilization clinic to prevent unwanted animals was attacked by the County Veterinary Medical Association as "the first step in socialized medicine. . . . an attack on free enterprise and unfair competition by the government."

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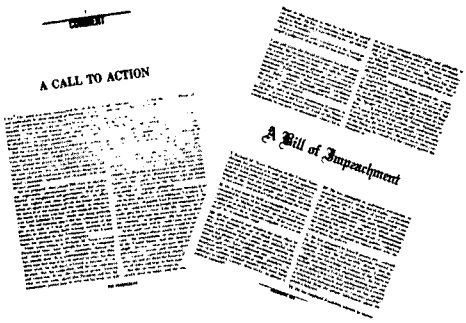
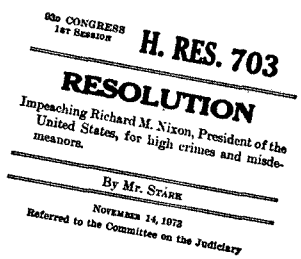


These editorials in a recent issue of The Progressive

were used verbatim in this Congressional resolution calling for the impeachment of the President


93d CONGRESS
1st Session

H. RES. 703

RESOLUTION

Impeaching Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, for high crimes and misdemeanors.

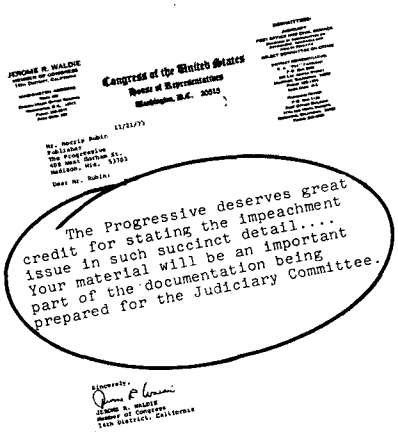
By Mr. STARK

NOVEMBER 14, 1973

Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

and continue to generate nationwide response...

including use by members of the House Judiciary Committee— for example:


JEROME R. WALDIE
Member of Congress
14th District, California

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

11/21/73

Mr. Moore Publisher
The Progressive
408 West Gorham St.
Madison, WI. 53703

Dear Mr. Moore:

The Progressive deserves great credit for stating the impeachment issue in such succinct detail.... Your material will be an important part of the documentation being prepared for the Judiciary Committee.

Sincerely,

JEROME R. WALDIE
Member of Congress
14th District, California

JRW/mc

For copies of this historic material:

Reprints of "A Call to Action" including the Bill of Impeachment:
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Memo of the Month

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
HEADQUARTERS, PICATINNY ARSENAL
DOVER, NEW JERSEY 07801

SARPA-CP

25 Jan 74

Mr. Jay A. Berger
100 Center Grove Rd/
Apt 8-14
Randolph, NJ 07801

Dear Mr. Berger:

Your Suggestion No. H34-74 Subject: Removal of silver tip on Retractable Ball-Point Pens which was referred to primary interested agencies for evaluation, was not recommended for adoption. Reasons for this decision by the evaluator(s) are given in the attached comments.

Although your suggestion was not given favorable consideration, the interest and initiative you displayed in submitting it are appreciated.

Ideas received through the Army Suggestion Plan have resulted in benefits of many millions of dollars to the government, improvement in morale and elimination of numerous safety hazards.

You are urged to continue your participation in the Army Suggestion Plan. Let your ideas be for Economy - Safety - Progress.

Sincerely yours,

for Incentive Awards Administrator

1 Incl
Evaluation

SUGGESTION EVALUATION
For use of this form, see CPPM 1, Sec 12; the proponent agency is Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel.

TO: (Include ZIP Code)	FROM: (Include ZIP Code)
Incentive Awards Administrator SMUPA-CP, Bldg 118	Acting Chief, Station Supply & Stock Control Division, Bldg 91

1. SUGGESTION TITLE	2. SUGGESTION NUMBER
Removal of Silver Tip on Retractable Ball-Point Pens	H-34-74

3. ACTION TAKEN OR RECOMMENDED

	a. APPROVED FOR ADOPTION. ☐ TOTALLY ☐ PARTIALLY OR WITH MODIFICATION (Explain in Item 4.)
	DATE SUGGESTION WAS OR WILL BE PUT INTO EFFECT ☐ ALSO RECOMMEND CONSIDERATION FOR WIDER APPLICATION AS INDICATED IN ITEM 4.
	b. ALREADY IN USE OR UNDER CONSIDERATION. (Explain in Item 4 indicating whether this suggestion contributed to the action in any way.)
	c. RECOMMEND ADOPTION, BUT APPROVAL NOT WITHIN JURISDICTION OF THIS OFFICE. REASONS FOR RECOMMENDATION ARE CONTAINED IN ITEM 4.
XX	d. NOT RECOMMENDED FOR ADOPTION FOR REASONS SHOWN IN ITEM 4.
	e. OTHER (Specify in Item 4)

4. REASONS FOR ACTION TAKEN OR RECOMMENDED (If more space is needed, continue on reverse)

This suggestion is not recommended for adoption in accordance with inclosed evaluation by General Services Administration.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
THE ADJUTANT GENERAL CENTER
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20314

DAAG-AMO-P

10 January 1974

SUBJECT: Suggestion, Removal of Silver Tip on Retractable Ball-Point Pens, H-34-74

Commander
Picatinny Arsenal
ATTN: SARPA-IS-SS-Sm
Dover, New Jersey 07801

Subject suggestion is returned not recommended for adoption. General Service Administration comments are attached.

FOR THE COMMANDER:

1 Incl

J. R. ROBINSON, JR.

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

DATE: 12-12-73

Office of Administration
Washington, D.C. 20405

REPLY TO ATTN OF: BPOR

SUBJECT: Suggestion No. H-34-74

Mrs. Marie Lee (IDR)
Adjutant General Center
Department of the Army
ATTN: DAAG-ASO-P
Room GA159, Forrestal Bldg.
Washington, DC 20314

We are returning an employee suggestion which was forwarded to General Services Administration for evaluation.

The suggestion has been evaluated and has not been recommended for adoption. The reasons are given in the enclosed evaluation.

Although the suggestion was not recommended for adoption, we appreciate the time and thought the suggestor has given this suggestion.

FRANCIS E. CAMMARATA
Central Office Suggestion Coordinator

Enclosures
Our File No. OA 74-127

Suggestion No: OA 74-127
Date Referred: 10/31/73

EVALUATION

The suggester alleges that the metal plunger and metal band are not needed and should be eliminated thereby saving material and money.

The ball point pens are designed to be serviceable during the life of several refills. The metal parts are intended to improve the performance, serviceability and aesthetic value of the pens.

Prior to revision of GG-B-0060C, the Government received numerous complaints about the quality of the pens. Revision "C" of subject specification was developed and issued after extensive consultation with industry and Federal agencies. From the response, it appears that the majority of the users are now satisfied with the design, quality, aesthetic value, and cost of the pens.

This office is aware of the apparent savings that could be realized by redesigning and changing some of the requirements of the pens. We are in contact with industry and have initiated a testing project with the intent of finding ways of improving the quality of the pens and reducing cost. After further study, we will implement those changes that will decrease the cost of the pens, provided these changes will not impair the quality and aesthetic value of the pens. Future changes cannot be attributed to this or previous suggestions.

Adoption of this suggestion is not recommended.

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It Takes Energy to Produce Energy: The Net's the Thing

by Edward Flattau and Jeff Stansbury

Suppose you've found a wondrous goose that lays seven golden eggs a week. Does this mean you will be able to corner the gold market? Unfortunately, no, because to keep the bird fat and fluffy—and to keep its production up—you must feed it six golden egg yolks each week. Net result: only one golden egg for sale.

This yarn may augur a potentially grim tale for the U.S. economy, for it symbolizes our net energy crisis. Not the various rigged shortages and price machinations you've been reading about, but the real thing: our *net* energy crisis.

If you haven't pondered net energy, the fault's not yours alone. Senator Henry M. Jackson, Capitol Hill's leading energy warrior, hasn't heard of it either and William E. Simon, chief of the Federal Energy Office, wouldn't recognize a net energy ratio if he tripped over one on his way to a press briefing. Nor would *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* reporters who have been following Simon around with almost a religious zeal. President Nixon, a flock of oil company executives, and most influential economists have yet to discover net energy let alone apply its implacable logic to their decisions.

Net energy is the energy you start with minus the energy you use up producing it—in other words, the calories you must spend to find, mine, transport, refine, convert, and deliver it. You must also add in any other energy yields that you have sacrificed in the singleminded pursuit of this one fuel.

Without doubt, net energy may well be the simplest idea ever to have been ignored by so many acknowledged experts. Corporations would go bankrupt if they did not understand the distinction between gross income and net profit, but our thinking about energy has somehow not yet reached this level of sophistication.

It does not matter whether you start with energy in the ground (coal, gas, oil, uranium oxide, plutonium, steam), in surface waters (hydropower reservoirs, tides, waves), and the land (timber, food, manure) or in space (sunlight, wind): in order to use it, you must first expend almost as much energy just to obtain it.

Agriculture presents an object lesson in the dynamics of net energy. Despite America's moderately high per-acre crop yields (up 63 per cent in the last 20 years), American farmers use more petroleum than *any* other economic group, and, as a result, they

Edward Flattau and Jeff Stansbury co-author an environmental column syndicated by The Los Angeles Times *syndicate.*

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consume much more energy than they produce.

California State University professor Michael Perelman has calculated that the energy value of the food Americans consume roughly equals the energy burned by tractors—just one fraction of our farm machinery. Of course you can't eat gasoline, so the equation is somewhat invalid. But what is significant is that the energy efficiency of U. S. agriculture has been steadily declining. Even ten years ago some 150 gallons of gasoline per American flowed into food production. That was five times as much energy as each of us consumed at the table—and the ratio has grown even worse in the ensuing decade.

Perelman's statistics also show that most other countries balance this equation better than we do. In the extremely labor-intensive agriculture of China, a wet-rice farmer produces 50 units of food energy for each energy unit he expends. For a typical American grain farmer, the ratio is dramatically reversed: one unit of energy harvested for five expended.

The largest portion of our energy deficit in agriculture comes from the use of nitrogen fertilizer. Since World War II our per-acre yields of corn have tripled, but our nitrogen energy inputs have risen 16 times. That may be efficient in terms of man-hours, but it is wasteful of energy. Dr. George Borgstrom, a food scientist at Michigan State University, calculates that it takes the calorie equivalents of five tons of coal to make one ton of nitrogen fertilizer. Agriculture Department officials have stated that, because of the energy squeeze, we will face a nitrogen fertilizer shortfall of about one million tons this spring. And these shortages have already raised fertilizer prices by 30 to 60 per cent over last year's level.

Meanwhile, the sewage technology employed by our narrowly trained sanitary engineers has been dumping about 2.4 million tons of perfectly good nitrogen into our lakes, streams, and estuaries each year. Dr. John R. Sheaffer, until recently the U. S. Army's top environmental consultant, estimates that this nitrogen is worth $1 billion and equals nearly a third of the synthetic fertilizer sold. By wasting it and forcing us to replace it with manufactured nitrogen, sanitary engineers make us burn the equivalent of an extra 2.2 billion gallons of fuel oil each year. Reclaiming most of this sewage will greatly improve the net energy yield of our agriculture, although it is not the whole answer.

Howard T. Odum, professor of Environmental Engineering Sciences at the University of Florida, has done some of the most provocative thinking

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on the importance of net energy. "Many forms of energy are low-grade because they have to be concentrated, transported, dug from deep in the earth or pumped from far at sea," Odum says. "If it takes 10 units of energy to bring 10 units of energy to the point of use, then there is no net energy. Right now we dig further and further, deeper and deeper, and we go for energies that are more and more dilute. We are still expanding our rate of consumption of *gross* energy, but since we are feeding a higher and higher percentage back into the energy-seeking process, we are decreasing our percentage of net energy production."

That single paragraph makes more sense about our energy predicament than volumes of solemn declarations from the Senate Interior Committee, the Federal Energy Office, and the oil companies. It puts the spotlight on the steady decline in the net energy yields of our traditional fossil fuels. Our nearest, least resistant oil fields have been drained; now we must literally squeeze oil from marginal ones, or import it from abroad in tankers (which themselves use fuel), or pump it long distances from offshore rigs to refineries. In the past, when oil returned a high net energy yield, it handsomely subsidized all our other fuel and power sources. Oil built hydroelectric dams. Oil and electricity extracted our coal. Oil grew our wheat. Oil made 20th-century America "work." But today, our free ride on oil is coming to a halt.

Flunking the Net Energy Test

This means, among other things, that each of our remaining fuels must henceforth meet the test of its own intrinsic net energy ratio. Let's look briefly at three such fuels: coal, uranium oxide, and shale oil.

In a recent interview with *The Washington Post*, William Simon declared: "Today we've got an 800-year supply of coal in this country where we can get from 25 to 35 per cent of our needs. . . for an infinite period of time." The kindest phrase we can think of to describe this statement is "whistling in the dark." Simon has simply commandeered—and inflated—the best prevailing estimates of our gross coal reserves without making any allowance for the energy cost of extracting this coal.

Unfortunately, common sense suggests that the net yield from our remaining coal deposits will be low. Unlike oil from wells, coal can be extracted only after tons of earth have been pushed aside. In the case of strip-mined coal these tons are literally mountains—mountains which must later be bulldozed back into shape, covered with topsoil, seeded, and carefully tended for 15 or so years (that is, unless we're willing to leave the land unreclaimed).

Seven months ago the President's Council on Environmental Quality issued a booklet on electric power. It contained some serious errors, but one useful fact can be found in it. *Of all the deep or strip-mined coal that we extract, only 30 per cent reaches the final user.* The rest disappears through physical losses in processing and transportation, heat losses during conversion to electricity, and electrical leakage from transmission lines. Furthermore, each of these steps, like the extraction process itself, consumes considerable energy. "Big Muskie," a giant coal extractor now tearing up Muskingum County, Ohio, gulps enough power each day for 27,000 all-electric homes. The energy costs of mining coal and converting it to electric power must then be subtracted from the 30 per cent left after leakage and physical disappearance.

We must also calculate the potential energy we lose when we decide to use land for strip-mining. Joseph Browder, of Washington's Environmental Policy Center, says, "The energy costs of stripping Northern Great Plains coal must include the direct loss of agricultural productivity in the Powder River Basin and other areas where livestock produced on

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native grasses would be replaced by livestock produced in a feedlot system dependent on energy-intensive, fertilized, irrigated crops."

In the West, the energy problems caused by strip-mining are a little different. Immense amounts of water will have to be set aside to gasify, liquefy, or convert its costs into electricity. This means new water sources will have to be developed, at a high energy cost, to replace those consumed by producing coal.

When all these relevant energy costs are deducted, the net yield from strip-mining our deep coal reserves may drop to three or four per cent or less. Simon's 800-year bonanza has shrunk to a few decades.

Losing Energy with Atomic Power

Then there's nuclear power, which the Nixon Administration is betting will eliminate our energy problems forever by the end of the century. So far, however, 25 years of nuclear fission power has drained off more energy than it has produced. It's easy to see where the problem comes from.

In 1973, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) used 25.7 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity just to produce the uranium needed to fuel nuclear power stations—stations with a power output of about 50-billion kwh. This was not a fluke. "As much as half of the gross electrical output of a nuclear plant would have to be recycled to supply input for fuel processing," says E. J. Hoffman, a University of Wyoming nuclear energy specialist. If you also include the energy costs of searching for uranium ore, mining it and transporting it; finding, mining, refining, and transporting the metals that go into nuclear power plants; manufacturing the concrete for these plants; operating them (which includes driving to and from work); and storing or reprocessing the "dirty" wastes from nuclear fission, you will find the 1972 net energy yield from uranium has probably sagged to less than 10 per cent.

The sober conclusion seems to be that our nuclear energy program would collapse without its big energy subsidy from oil. Three years ago, after studying the past, present, and projected yields of U. S. nuclear power plants, Dr. Hoffman concluded,"The cumulative energy expenditure of the entire atomic energy program may not be recouped from nuclear fission power plants by the time the reserves of economically recoverable U-235 are used up."

Shale oil presents us with another statistical no-man's land. There are between one billion and 10 billion barrels of shale oil buried in the West, according to official estimates. However, after all the energy requirements of shale oil have been subtracted, there may be a net yield of only a few hundred million barrels. This could even drop off close to zero if the land from which the shale is extracted is to be pushed back into place and recontoured. In a recent book, *The Energy Crisis*, Lawrence E. Rocks and Richard Runyon predict that the net energy yield from 99 per cent of our Rocky Mountain oil shale will be *zero*.

One reason why almost nobody seems to care about net energy is the tendency of otherwise knowledgeable people to confuse net energy with mere efficiency of extraction. When we hear the term "fuel efficiency," it is easy to think of extraction ratios: for example, that we only suck about 30 per cent of the oil in an oil field out of the ground, or that solar-energy devices can convert only about one per cent of the incoming light into useful energy. This may make oil seem more "efficient" than solar energy. But it doesn't cost us anything to pass up that 99 per cent of solar energy or 70 per cent of oil; we get nothing and we expend nothing, so this loss doesn't really affect our calculations. What really counts is how much energy we must expend to *get* the obtainable energy. Extracting and refining the 30 per cent of the oil may consume so much energy that the net

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energy yield is quite low.

Another problem is that the entire debate over fuels is dominated by economists, geologists, and capitalists, who have been trained to think only in terms of dollars. Is oil shale still too costly to develop? Well then, they advise, wait for conventional fuels to grow scarce (high-priced) and shale oil will become a profitable commodity. The trouble with such incantations is that they assume the dollar costs of a given fuel will faithfully—and quickly—reflect its energy costs. This assumption is unwarranted. The dollar costs of new oil wells, for example, depend on tax write-offs and other accounting decisions which do not reflect net energy. A fuel can remain artificially underpriced for months, even years, after its net yield drops. And the notion that shale oil will become profitable at the very moment when it can no longer count on a big initial subsidy from deep-well oil is, in net energy terms, absurd.

"The truth is often stated backwards by economists," says Dr. Odum. "Often they propose that marginal energy sources will become economic when the rich sources are gone. But the ability of marginal sources to yield goes *down* as the sources of subsidy become poorer."

Three months ago, Brookings Institution President and former Budget Director Kermit Gordon admitted to the American Economics Association: "I know of no neat theory of inflation that fits the facts of the last five years—neither aggregate demand, nor money supply, nor labor power, nor oligopoly power, nor bottlenecks, nor expectations—though I could easily be convinced that they all played a part."

The "facts" of the last five years boil down to a lickety-split inflation that has respected neither boom nor bust. Without sounding pompous, it seems quite plausible that our shrinking net energies provide part of the theory that resolves this seeming paradox. Professor Odum sees it that way: "If the energy reaching society for its general work is less because so much energy must go into the energy-getting process, then the real work of society per unit of money circulated is less. Money then buys less real work. . . and is worth less." This inflationary bind could exist in a rising or a falling economy, provided that the actual money supply did not substantially dwindle.

The infamous U. S.-Soviet wheat deal two years ago provides a vivid example of the fickle relationship between dollars and net energy. This exchange was a financial windfall for a few grain exporting firms, but an energy disaster for Americans. Wilson Clark, a Washington, D. C. energy specialist, claims that it cost us 10 units of energy to ship grain worth one unit of energy to the Russians. In return we were promised Soviet natural gas worth two energy units. "Financially it worked out fine," Clark says, "but in energy terms we suffered a 5 to 1 net loss."

Balancing Our Energy Accounts

Clearly, before the United States invests hundreds of millions and then billions of dollars in a desperate scramble for miracle fuels, we must devise a system of national energy accounts. How much of the energy from western coal must be pumped back into its production? How will the net yield of western strip-mined coal compare with the midwestern deep-mined coal? What natural energy harvests will be sacrificed by these alternatives? How heavily must we subsidize the next 25 years of nuclear fission? To bring one 1,200-calorie loaf of cracked wheat bread to a suburban table, how many thousands of calories must we spend on fertilizer, pesticides, cultivation, harvesting, farm overhead, milling, baking, distribution, sales, and—not least—that luxurious trip to the supermarket? For our overseas oil, how much energy do we invest in our Mediterranean fleet, in our farflung corporate empires, and in their support structures in the Departments of State,

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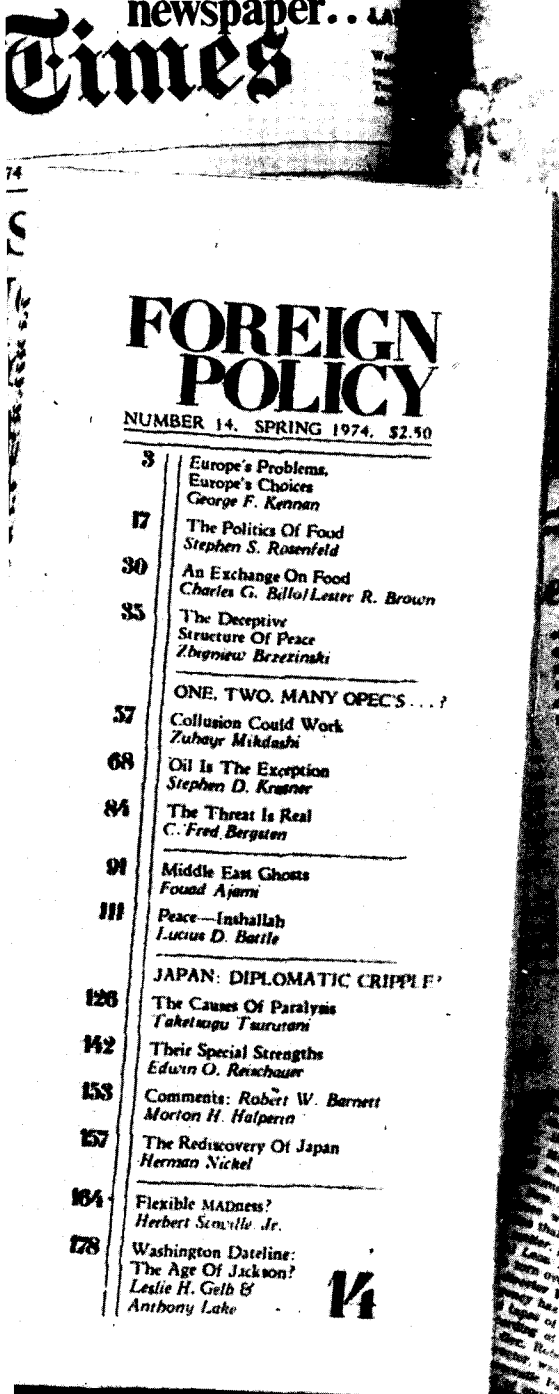

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NUMBER 14. SPRING 1974. $2.50

3 Europe's Problems, Europe's Choices — *George F. Kennan*

17 The Politics Of Food — *Stephen S. Rosenfeld*

30 An Exchange On Food — *Charles G. Billo/Lester R. Brown*

35 The Deceptive Structure Of Peace — *Zbigniew Brzezinski*

ONE, TWO, MANY OPEC'S . . . ?

57 Collusion Could Work — *Zuhayr Mikdashi*

68 Oil Is The Exception — *Stephen D. Krasner*

84 The Threat Is Real — *C. Fred Bergsten*

91 Middle East Ghosts — *Fouad Ajami*

111 Peace—Inshallah — *Lucius D. Battle*

JAPAN: DIPLOMATIC CRIPPLE?

126 The Causes Of Paralysis — *Takeshiro Tsurumi*

142 Their Special Strengths — *Edwin O. Reischauer*

153 Comments: *Robert W. Barnett* / *Morton H. Halperin*

157 The Rediscovery Of Japan — *Herman Nickel*

164 Flexible MADness? — *Herbert Scoville Jr.*

178 Washington Dateline: The Age Of Jackson? — *Leslie H. Gelb & Anthony Lake*

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"Our system of man and nature will soon be shifting from rapid growth to steady state non-growth as the criterion of economic survival," says Dr. Odum. Ecologists are familiar with both the growth state and the steady state; they observe both in natural systems." Economists, however, have been schooled during, by, and for growth. Most of them have never seen a steady state. Except for the London School's Ezra Mishan and a mere handful of kindred spirits, they reject the possibility of a steady state even though man lived in something very close to one during 99 per cent of his evolution.

Why is a new steady state—presumably at a decent level of health and well-being—in our cards? It is in our cards because the high net-yielding energy sources we need to survive, with the doubtful exception of nuclear fusion, cannot match the total daily output we have heretofore enjoyed from the fossil fuels. Oil, coal, and gas have been a marvelous energy "capital," a 400-million-year-old bankroll for the Western world. Sunlight is energy "income," however; we can tap only so much of it each day. Whether we like it or not, we'll have to live within our means. This is the only way we can reach that redoubtable state Mr. Nixon calls "energy self-sufficiency." ■

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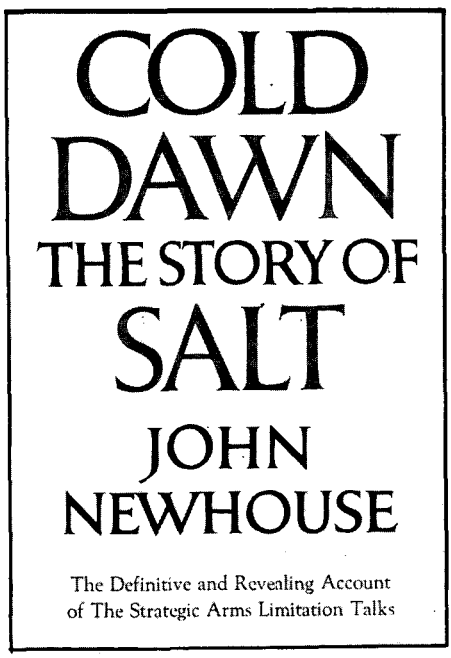

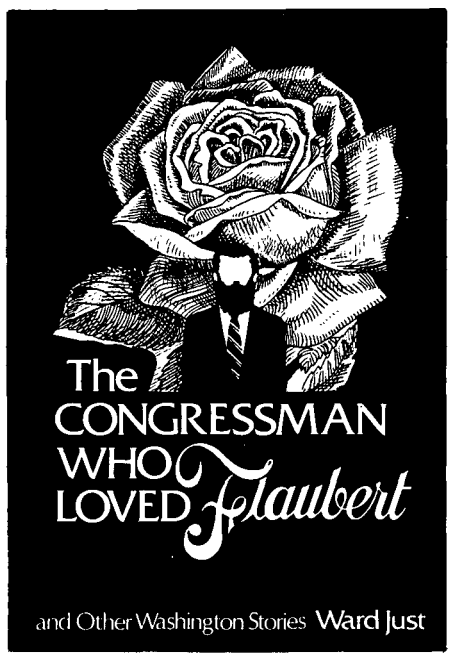

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Amber Waves of Grain. James Trager. Arthur Fields.

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The Invisible Injuries of Class, Sennett + Cobb, Alfred Knopf

Will Editors Ever Love Flaubert?

by James Fallows

Last summer it became more and more clear that while investigative reporters were telling us *what* had happened inside the Nixon White House, political journalism in general had failed to convey how and why the style of presidential government had evolved to its current point. As we looked back for sources of explanation, one book stood out as particularly prescient. It was George Reedy's *The Twilight of the Presidency*, written about the Johnson Administration and published in 1970, but full of the story of the imperial presidency, which is now becoming conventional wisdom.

At publication time the general reaction to Reedy's book had been tepid, but—we discovered on looking back—one of the most thoughtful and foresighted of the reviews had come from Max Frankel of *The New York Times* The review showed that Frankel had thought hard and deeply about the changes in the Presidency; he had, it was clear, seen past the press releases and public statements to the world of advisers promoting their own fortunes like courtiers and protecting the President from the reality of unpleasant news. This was an astonishing thing to find, for in all his years as Washington bureau chief and all-around star reporter for the *Times*, Frankel had never given a sign that he was other than an extremely capable give-me-all-the-facts-ma'am reporter. What was it that kept him from writing the story until Reedy's book gave him a peg?

As one example of what Frankel might have been writing, we have Ward Just's new book, *The Congressman Who Loved Flaubert and Other Washington Stories.** Just, a former *Washington Post* reporter who turned to fiction several years ago, has written a series of nine stories, some good and some not so good, about life in the different parts of the federal government. In one of the two really first-rate stories in the book, "A Guide to the Architecture of Washington, D. C." (the other is the title story), Just gives us what Reedy attempted to give and what all the journalists like Frankel never put in their stories: a demonstration that he understands the complexity and motivation of human beings in political situations. In his story, a White House aide, facing a change of administrations, is preparing to leave but trying desperately to stay. This is a familiar political situation: Frankel must have written about ones like it, and the political theorists have, too. But Just adds a dimension missing in the other accounts, and in so doing comes much closer to telling the truth about this part of government.

He remembered the black Mercury sedans, with the telephones and the reading light in the rear seat. He was up every morning at seven sharp, swinging into the big circular lobby at quarter to eight. He

James Fallows is an editor of The Washington Monthly.

*Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1973.

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remembered the silence of the lobby, and the wan light from hidden lamps. In the early morning there were always one or two visitors seated on couches, nervous men waiting for appointments, who put down their newspapers when they saw him. It was as if they felt newspapers were an unnecessary frivolity, a sacrilege in his presence, something profane. . . .

Then, safely inside the sanctum, he'd relax and stroll down the hallway to his office and the morning's business. Before he did anything he checked the appointment book to see what was scheduled. What was public, what private, and what personal. Then he checked the Oval Office to see if the old man was in. To see if there was anything special that day. Anything that needed doing. Anything at all.

This is not just nice detail; it has as much to do with understanding the way decisions are made in government as anything the political reporters and theoretical analysts can say. The facts, an ability to analyze the facts, and a human understanding are the three ingredients for telling the truth about government. Without the third, the truth is obscured because it is hard to understand how real people could make the mistakes government often makes. There is no reason why political writing should not include much more of the kind of awareness Just's fiction displays, which for convenience I will call cultural understanding of government, a sense of the way its cultural rules affect its members' behavior.

In one of his previous books, Ward Just himself has shown how cultural understanding can be combined with hard factual reporting in a non-fiction format. His last book before *Flaubert* was *Military Men*, published in 1970, a masterful examination of the armed forces preparing to think about its world after Vietnam. In the dozens of personal encounters that make up the book—with West Point cadets, generals in the Pentagon, rebels in a coffeehouse—Just gives the reader the benefit of all his insights; not just what the man said but what he looked like, what he seemed to be thinking. In this passage, for example, he is talking with an officer about the dumb soldiers, "those with IQs of 80, the ones called Shitkick and Fuckhead, the clumsy ones":

"Well what the hell, you have got to have those guys who will go out there when no one else will," a major at Leavenworth told me and when I didn't say anything but just sat looking at him he colored and half apologized and said that he didn't mean it quite the way it sounded. But he did.

Just, of course, cannot be the only person to possess this ability. But what other writers, and in what circumstances, have added to their work a sensitivity to culture?

Murray Kempton's columns in *The New York Post* during the 1950s are certainly a place to start, for Kempton was one of the first to combine strong factual reporting with a human understanding of his subjects. The combination brought him much closer to a

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true vision of what was happening politically than either the straight reporters or the rest of the editorial page analysts. In 1952, Kempton was traveling with Eisenhower at the time of the Jenner rally in Indiana. That was when Eisenhower, in effect, abandoned George C. Marshall to the demagoguery of Senator William Jenner by taking the stand to support Jenner. This is what Kempton saw:

> The luncheon was ended, and Eisenhower walked off the platform, stopping a minute to catch his breath and raising his ring hand to lean on a friendly shoulder. He reached for Bill Jenner's shoulder, then he saw who it was, and he let his hand drop. Let it be said for Dwight Eisenhower that he did what he did not utterly without shame.
>
> No one else can really say what George Marshall meant to Dwight Eisenhower; he himself said it three weeks ago in choked and angry terms. The man who said that must know better than anyone what it means to pass the gates to glory by kicking your father in the stomach.

Kempton has since stopped writing these columns. Since then another newspaper writer has carved out a similar role for herself. When her editors at *The Washington Star-News* sense that the juices of an event will not come through in the "President Nixon announced yesterday" main story, they send Mary McGrory to write what she sees and feels. This type of story has created among editors the undefined awareness that there is another category of article besides straight news and editorial page analysis.

They know that the articles present part of the truth about an event, a part which the news and analysis stories seem incapable of including. What the McGrory-type stories contain is a feeling for the human beings and their culture. What they too often lack is any hard-minded analysis, since under the division of newspaper responsibilities that is left to Joseph Kraft and the rest of the editorial-page thinkers.

Apart from newspaper color stories, another field of political writing which has occasionally admitted the novelist's touch is current history. Academic historians have long acknowledged that a keen cultural sensitivity can help build the truest historical portrait; Thucydides placed fictitious speeches in the mouths of his characters to more fully explain their actions. Among contemporary historians, the progenitor of this approach has been Theodore White, who in his *Making of the President* books has above all else demonstrated an ability to put himself in his subjects' shoes. In his 1960 book White gave all the easy glamor of the Kennedy victory, but he was also nearly heart-breaking in describing the equally real side of the campaign, the collapse of the Humphrey forces in West Virginia. There is real pathos in the portrait of Humphrey, out-spent by Kennedy, snapping at his aides, and then hating himself because he realizes they can't do anything more about the situation than he can, writing out a personal check to a television station which has threatened to cancel his telethon unless he pays immediately, Muriel Humphrey watching this with great sad eyes and giving you the feeling, White says, that it was her grocery money being signed away, and at the end of it all, in the shambles of his campaign and the disappearance of his dreams for the presidency, Humphrey stopping to console a sobbing guitar-player who had accompanied him through the campaign, patting him on the shoulder and saying, "Aw, Jimmy." When White gets into trouble it is because he does not temper his good-heartedness with any firm analytical standards. Thus in 1972 he could sit with Richard Nixon and agree with him about the structure of peace and the importance of the Presidency, and not ask what any of the words meant.

The Novelist's Eye Is Not Enough

The importance of personalities in understanding political campaigns is obvious, and White's approach has

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transformed election reporting, even in the newspapers. That type of contemporary history which attempts to explain how a certain institution functions has, like election writing, been fortified by cultural understanding. Ward Just's book on the Army, which concentrated on the individuals involved, is one example. Stuart Loory's new book, *Defeated: Inside the American Military Machine*,* is another. Loory approaches the same topic from a much more theoretical angle than Just, but he has not given up a feel for the nuances of the world he is describing. Indeed, the real subject of his book is the military culture, whose emphasis on yes-men and unsoiled records means that most officers are rated by their supervisors, "the best officer I have ever seen," and anyone who is rated merely "excellent" or "superior" has lost his chances for advancement. In one of the more memorable passages in the book, Loory describes an admiral's life aboard an aircraft carrier fighting in Vietnam:

> From the flight deck below, dozens of aircraft took off each morning, their bellies and wings laden, as the expression goes, with death and destruction. Admiral Ferris could witness this spectacle from picture windows in his quarters, or he could tune it all out. "Tune out" means he could retire to his study, a windowless room obviously appointed by an interior decorator. . . .
>
> The admiral's dining room—it was to a mess what the private dining room in the White House is to a government workers' cafeteria—could seat 10 comfortably around an oval table covered with starched white linen. The silverware was heavy and glistening. The meals were served with painstaking etiquette by white-coated attendants. . . .
>
> Belowdecks, the crew was jammed together, 150 men to each open, windowless, poorly lighted, ill-ventilated bay. They lived one atop the other, three bunks high, with no privacy and little storage space, with the constant noise of the ship's operations jarring them. They took their meals in windowless, low-ceilinged mess spaces that doubled as warehouses for the bombs and rockets the airplanes would use.

*Random House, 1973.

The difference that a novelist's eye can make in the current histories of the White House is suggested by the two in-house books on the Kennedy Administration, *A Thousand Days*, by Arthur Schlesinger, and *Kennedy*, by Theodore Sorenson. Understandably, neither of these is a work of hard-biting analysis, but there are significant differences. In the one first-class section of his book, on the Bay of Pigs, Schlesinger shows an acute awareness of the cultural rules under which each of the people involved was operating. Sorenson's version, by contrast, is not only starchy and dull, but also far less accurate in registering the full truth of the encounter.

The most impressive of the contemporary histories is undoubtedly David Halberstam's *The Best and the Brightest*. From the first, Halberstam was shoved in the direction of looking inside the characters of his story; it was, after all, their very brilliance that provoked questions about their failure. Halberstam carried out the

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study in a remarkable way, showing for his dozens of characters how the forces that led them to a certain point in their careers and the rules they played under once they reached that point virtually dictated their decisions. One of the best examples is his portrait of John McNaughton, the McNamara advisor who came across as Mr. Death-from-the-Skies himself in the documentary record of the Pentagon papers, but who was privately dissenting to McNamara.

In 1964, McNaughton was very unsure of his relationship with McNamara, he was newer in his position than McNamara was in his. He was almost mesmerized by McNamara; he had never seen anything like him and admired the Secretary without reservation, being almost slavish in his subservience. That, and being extremely ambitious, and wanting, now that he was operating in Washington, to remain there. So he became at once the man in the government where two powerful currents crossed: great and forceful doubts about the wisdom of American policy in Vietnam, and an equally powerful desire to stay in government, to be a player, to influence policies for the good of the country, for the right ideas, and for the good of John McNaughton. Although he was a Harvard law professor, there was no more skilled player of the bureaucratic game than John McNaughton, for he understood the bureaucracy very quickly and how to play it, and he learned this, that his power existed only as long as he had Robert McNamara's complete confidence and as long as everyone in government believed that when he spoke, he spoke not for John McNaughton but for Bob McNamara. That, with its blind loyalty and totality of self-abnegation, meant bureaucratic power, and John McNaughton wanted power. Any doubts he had were reserved for McNamara, virtually alone, or one or two other people that he knew and trusted, who would not betray him with gossip, so that the word would not go around Washington that John McNaughton was a secret dove.

The problem with this book is that at the end Halberstam, too, failed to apply the toughest analytical standards. He seemed not to grasp Daniel Ellsberg's brilliant insight about the men in the several administrations which continued the war. They were not *fools*, Ellsberg said (this was Halberstam's final judgment on McNamara); their decisions may have been wrong, but they were not deluded, for all along the way they were conscious of the choices involved and never felt they could afford the short-term risks of quitting the war. The irony is that Ellsberg, in his *Papers on the War*, lacked what Halberstam had in abundance: the understanding of how human beings could make these decisions.

Pulling the Strings Together

From the conjuction of these two books, an exciting prospect emerges. Political writing which combined the strongest parts of both—Ellsberg plus the humanity, Halberstam plus the hard analysis—would come far closer to telling us the truth about public affairs than most of what we now read. It is cause for wonder that, in a time when writing of all sorts about politics grows more voluminous, the sense of public incomprehension is also rising. Decisions come from the Congress, the White House, and all far-flung agencies, decisions which neither ideology nor devil theories can explain. Specific questions seem unanswerable—why is Congress so slow to impeach? what sense can we make of our energy policies? And more general trends are left unexamined. As we look back into our very recent history, we can see at least two distinct developments that clearly affected events: the rise of the imperial court in the Kennedy-Johnson White Houses (whose importance has been realized only in the Nixon era) and the sexual element in the Kennedy-Johnson-Nixon foreign policy. Two other ongoing stories—the culture of the Congress and the culture of bureaucracy—are too rarely communicated in their full dimensions.

The reason for these omissions is that there is really no genre of writing that pulls all the strings together, which sits back and says *here* are the

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characters, and this is what they did, and this is what they *thought* they were doing, and this is what they overlooked. Now the threads are left separate. Newspapers are the most extreme example, in which everything has its place: facts on the front page, analysis—too often without facts—on the editorial page, gossip on the society page, and "color" floating somewhere in between. If "A Guide to the Architecture of Washington, D. C." were to be told through the newspapers, the front page would carry a story on the aide's resignation, the editorial page would discuss the change of administration, the society page would report that he was putting his house on the market and taking a new job, and the color reporter might have noticed the reading light in the back of the limousine. It's never all there at once, which it must be if the real *meaning* is ever to come across.

This is no modest hope, a type of writing which would start with "A Guide to the Architecture" and go on to explain what this means for the decisions made in the White House, a type which gives fact *and* analysis *and* human understanding.

No reporter could do this very often; stories like this cannot be produced on a daily or weekly basis because the writer will not have that much to say that frequently. But they can be produced with some reasonable regularity—perhaps once every four weeks, as a rough estimate—and need not be reserved for the books written after years of reflections, if the reporters are constantly looking for all the parts of the story, not just the "facts." Anyone who has ever stepped inside the White House, even as a reporter, has had a dim glimmer of how it must feel to be one of the bosses there; if a reporter covers one of the bureaucracies for any length of time he develops a sense of what its officials expect from life and their jobs. If the writer's responsibility is to help us understand the truth about his subject, the truth in its fullest dimensions, then he should pull all these details together.

One reason more of these stories haven't been written is that the editors have not asked for them, apart from vague requests for the "color" piece. But this makes us take a step further up to ask why the editors haven't wanted them and why the writers haven't been clamoring to do them.

Making a Name

An invaluable aid to understanding is Timothy Crouse's book on the campaign press corps, *The Boys on the Bus*,* Crouse knows that journalism, like politics and the stage, has always attracted people who want to *become* something through it. The kind of name and identity they hope to give themselves affects the kind of standards they will apply to their own work. Joseph Kraft and James Reston don't keep Henry Kissinger's confidences solely because they are afraid of losing a source. Constant contact with Kissinger favorably alters their own visions of themselves as well; as influential journalists they deserve a seat at the Metropolitan Club, the company of statesmen, the friendship of other influential people. Different journalists have different ideas of themselves. When David Broder strikes a pompous note, it may be because he's writing with the Richard Neustadts and McGeorge Bundy's in mind, sounding the way he thinks a "respected political analyst" should.

Crouse spends a good deal of time in his book on the dissection of R. W. "Johnny" Apple of *The New York Times*, whom Crouse portrays as the most egregious of those eager to get ahead:

> "Take a look at Johnny Apple over there," said a celebrity-watching politico on the closing night of the Democratic convention. "He practically goes around with a T-shirt saying, 'I work for the *Times*; I'm Number One!' " . . . All of a sudden Ted Kennedy, who had just finished his speech nominating George McGovern, came around a corner a few feet away from Apple. "Hey,

*Random House, 1973.

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Ted," shouted Apple, and waved him over. They chatted for about a minute. "You know," said the politico, as Ted left Apple, "Johnny thinks he's better than the pols he writes about. He thinks they need him. He seems to forget it's *The New York Times* they need, not him. If Johnny worked for the *Denver Post* and he said, 'Hey, Ted,' Teddy would have kept on walking."

Crouse is excellent in these vignettes, but his book shows the danger of including color without the analysis. Even while reporting the fine detail and the human texture, Crouse does not seriously enough question what he is seeing. While he clearly loathes Apple, he makes Broder look almost saintly. This is perfectly understandable as a human reaction—Broder being a much more modest and likable man—but it overlooks the fact that they're in essentially the same position. Broder is earning a different kind of respect, but like Apple his view of what he is making *himself* into affects the version of truth he is telling.

Crouse first wrote these articles for *Rolling Stone*, and it may be fair to see some of the difficulty there. *Rolling Stone* has been excellent in getting its writers to go for the detail and color; sometimes this has greatly enhanced the human understanding of the topic (as with Crouse's stories) and sometimes it has run the risk of character assassination (as with Hunter Thompson's reports on the politicians). What has too often been missing is some stress on the meaning of it all—why we should care about Apple's pretensions except for the fun of seeing a high-rider put down, whether there's anything besides color to Thompson's description of Muskie as a farmer with terminal cancer trying to borrow on next year's crop. I don't mean to suggest that *Rolling Stone* is unique in this conceptual drift, only to say that it has been a striking illustration of the ambivalence many journalists feel about the importance of their work. And this, in the end, may be the most important reason that more writers haven't tried harder to communicate the full truth about what they see: it doesn't seem to matter. It is an extraordinary effort to make, since editorial requirements are usually satisfied (and editorial restrictions may begin) once the reporter has done his job of providing either facts or color. To make this effort, the reporter must have a sense that it matters whether or not he truly explains a set of events to the reader. He must have the passion of a novelist like Solzhenitsyn to tell the truth about a situation—not just the facts, not just his opinions, but the whole truth.

While the non-fiction writer needs the novelist's passion, he cannot simply emulate the techniques of fiction. Most good fiction is based on personal experience and observation, but the novelist has the freedom to build from that base with imagination and without fidelity to fact. The non-fiction writer should bring the novelist's eye to his material, but he cannot afford to depart from the facts as he has actually seen them. When he speculates into character and culture, he needs to separate the facts from the guesses, to say at a certain point, "I can't prove this in court, but everything I have seen convinces me that *this* is what's going on." He has the obligation to include the inconvenient fact, the detail which would not fit the novelist's scheme.

The non-fiction writer also needs a set of concerns that will impel him to do more than present the facts. This does not mean that there should not be a place for straight factual reporting; it is even conceivable, although on most mornings it is hard to imagine why, that there is still a place for analysis from the columnists. But the single greatest unmet need in journalism is writing which grounds opinion in fact and illumines it with understanding—that is, which attempts to convey the whole truth about public affairs. It would have been nice to have had the truth about the imperial presidency explained before the war and Watergate. ■

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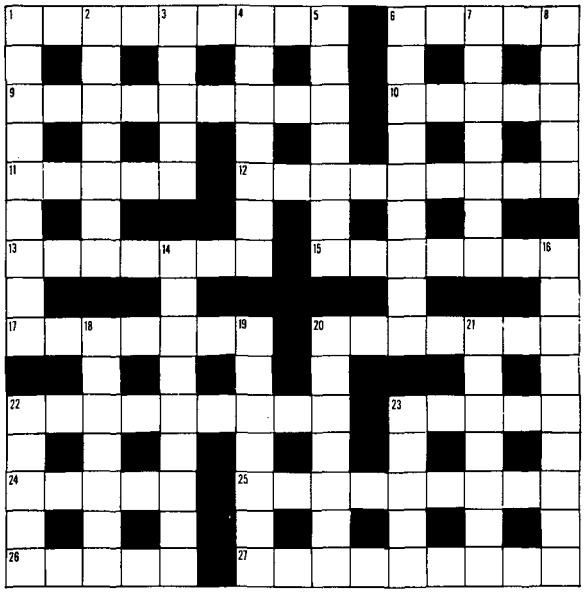
the political puzzle

by John Barclay



ACROSS

1. She's not made in your image, Lord. (5,4)
6. He starts in the middle of wan wars. (5)
9. Something to open from Zena Claus? (4,5)
10. He ends at the start of sad attacks. (5)
11. Caper is certainly nothing to play down! (3,2)
12. Places to demonstrate to Moors who's boss. (9)
13. Sirs sue the source. (7)
15. Let the wet link gleam. (7)
17. Top notch in note well in sun and Africans come back. (7)
20. Heavy load to put on agent. (7)
22. Watch him shuttle risk around to burn hair. (9)
23. Brace it to become sharp person. (5)
24. Good place in which Army can scare Navy. (5)
25. Perhaps this makes Nile cuter. (5,4)
26. State reason for preference. (5)
27. Shies away from bawd's rack. (5,4)

DOWN

1. Fuel allotment for a roasting. (3,6)
2. A stealer of Shakespearian scenes. (7)
3. Artists united like hat. (5)
4. Steers North for Fitzgerald and Borgnine. (7)
5. Pass pattern in which we enrol Lou Tiger. (4,3)
6. Statement, not raises, required to clear him. (9)
7. High state on low deck. (7)
8. Tears flow as these get high. (5)
14. Make disappear your Cheshire cat, dearie! (9)
16. Never for suckers? (4,5)
18. Containers need chopped steak in college degree. (7)
19. Spotted the digs. (7)
20. From the dry island comes a rotgut drink. (7)
21. Where crime is mixed up in Alcoholics Anonymous. (7)
22. Germans find use of a Turk name impolite. (5)
23. Assists in bringing out the beast in him. (5)

The numbers indicate the number of letters and words, e.g., (2, 3) means a two-letter word followed by a three-letter word. Groups of letters, e.g., USA, are treated as one word. Answers to last month's puzzle are on page 56.

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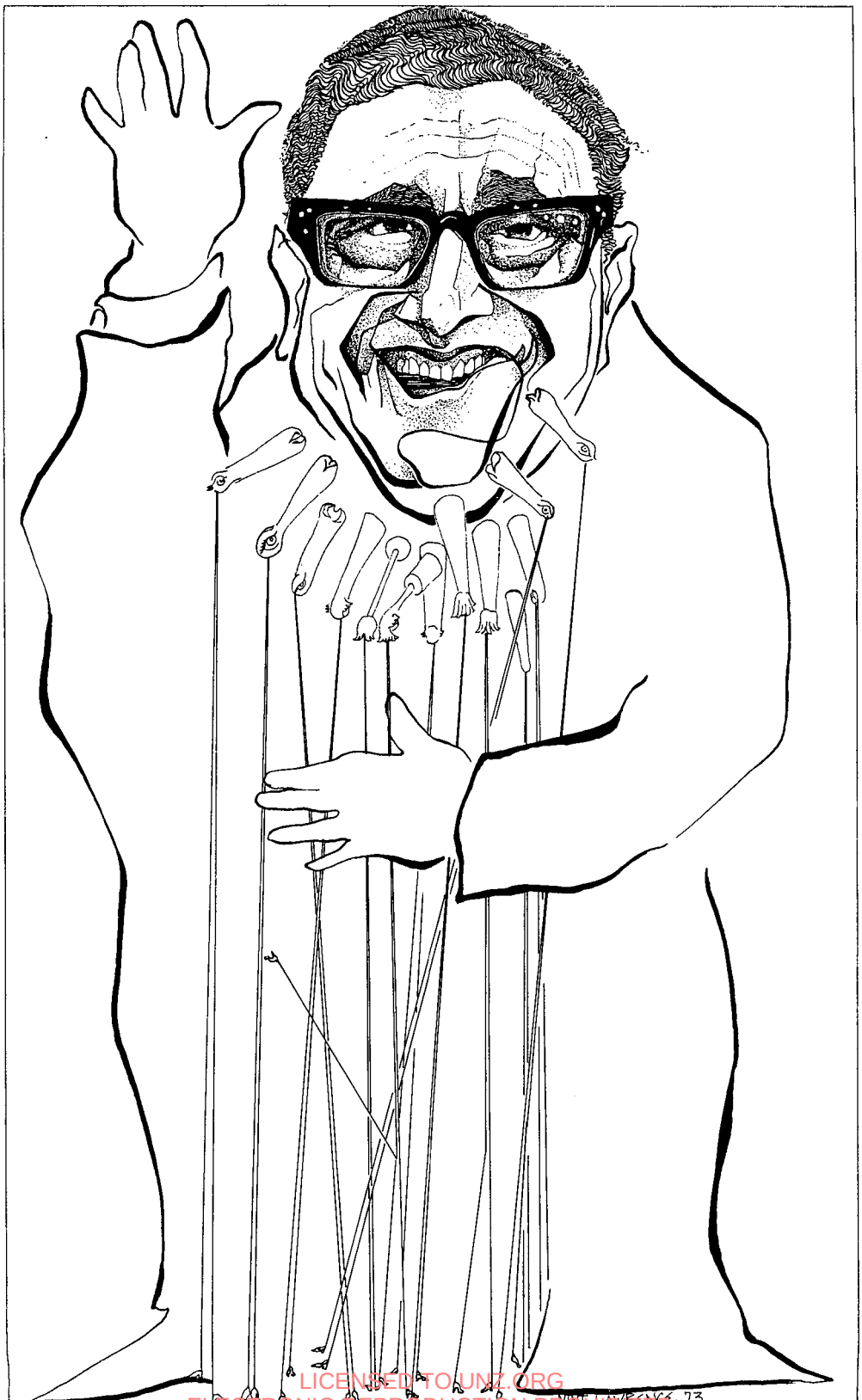

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Cold Dawn and the Mind of Kissinger

by Graham Allison

Let us "discontinue talking so specifically about Soviet military hardware; such matters need not concern our civilian colleagues." So Colonel-General Nikolai Ogarkov, the senior military representative on the Soviet negotiating team, urged a ranking American delegate at the outset of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT).

Ogarkov's plea was triggered by an incident at one of the formal negotiating sessions. The chairman of the Soviet delegation, Vladimir Semenov, became confused about which of two strategic missiles was the larger: U. S. Minuteman or Soviet SS-9. Departing from Russian protocol, Ogarkov broke in and set the matter straight.

That the chairman of the Soviet delegation, who had been a Deputy Foreign Minister for a decade, could make this elementary mistake—confusing the mammoth SS-9 with the rather small Minuteman—is puzzling. That a Soviet military representative could suggest to an American delegate the possibility of negotiating such "military matters" as Minuteman and SS-9 without involving his civilian colleagues seems hardly conceivable. Such extraordinary happenings, however, are the stuff of the SALT negotiations and treaty, which President Nixon's Foreign Policy Report identifies as a central pillar in the emerging structure of peace.

John Newhouse's *Cold Dawn: The Story of SALT** tells this story and a lot more. For students of nuclear strategy or American foreign policy, *Cold Dawn* is must reading: an insider's account *par excellence*, instant history at its best. The sources of these top secrets are unimpeachable (moreover, the highest levels of the government short of such vulnerability). Newhouse had such excellent access that at one point we find him complaining about not being privy to conversations between the President and his Assistant for National Security Affairs. Imagine that. His sources obviously include not only the National Security Council staff but Henry Kissinger himself—and some of his enemies, too. Washington rumor has it that Kissinger told his staff to give Newhouse the dope. Newhouse

Graham Allison teaches government at Harvard.

*Holt, Reinhart & Winston. 1973

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took it, but not lying down. He has done his homework at other agencies and in other capitals. In the end, his judgment as well as his sources incline him to tell Kissinger's side of the story. As a result he has produced the fullest account yet available of the way the Nixon-Kissinger foreign policy system actually works—far richer, for example, than Jack Anderson's revelations about the "tilt" toward Pakistan.

Had this leak of Administration super-secrets not come from the highest sources, we would undoubtedly hear charges that their publication betrays confidences of certain communications with the Soviet Union, reveals to our enemies the innermost workings of the American negotiating process, and thus harms the national security. It may, too. In any case, *Cold Dawn* provides an excellent source of intelligence for officials in the Department of Defense or Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) about what was going on behind the scenes while they were attending a meeting of the committee to coordinate a position on a SALT option and draft a cable to the negotiator in Vienna (or feeling bad because they were excluded from the meeting).

For readers who find issues of nuclear strategy deadly dull, Newhouse cuts through the thickets of technology and terminology to uncover the common ground of all major policy choices: *politics*. No less than in welfare reform or prisoner rehabilitation, choices about nuclear weapons which could mean quick death for millions of people involve politicians and bureaucrats. Officials share power but differ substantially about what should be done. They must therefore bargain with the advantages at their disposal to achieve their vision of what is right. Most of the bargaining takes place behind various veils of secrecy. Often the bargaining is not what it seems. But from Robert McNamara's initial efforts to stop ABM and begin negotiating about strategic arms, to Kissinger's last-minute concessions on submarine-launched missiles, SALT is a tale of hard bargaining. Whether the bargaining *within* the U. S. government was harder or easier than the bargaining *between* the U. S. government and the Soviet Union is an interesting but probably unanswerable question.

Even for general readers who want an introduction to the mysterious world of strategic concepts and acronyms—stability and counterforce, MIRV and SLBM—*Cold Dawn* is hard to beat. Newhouse assembles all the relevant recent information, and presents it in a lively and readable style. His unwillingness to draw a sharp line between strategic and technological issues on the one hand, and questions of politics and personalities on the other, reflects the reality of the situation. It also keeps his account interesting.

One group of readers is sure to find *Cold Dawn* disappointing, if not disturbing. Those who need a simple picture of international politics to hang onto should look elsewhere. Newhouse tells a tale not of unified governments with grand national interests, negotiating and bargaining subtly for maximum advantage. Instead, he argues:

> Finally, and most importantly, SALT is an internal negotiation. It is within the two capitals that the critical bargaining—the struggle to grind out positions—lumbers endlessly, episodically on. The marrow of SALT is found in the contesting views and clashing organizational interests of the government agencies.

He marshals impressive evidence for his proposition. Why did the strategic agreement proposed by the Johnson Administration leave out both MIRV and ABM? According to Newhouse, "The Joint Chiefs bought the package at the price of excluding both a MIRV testing ban and an ABM limit." Through the seven rounds of formal SALT negotiations, U. S. proposals on the number of ABM sites to

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be permitted bobbed from one to zero to four before finally settling on two. Newhouse traces the internal politics that pulled the string of this yo-yo, including an incredible episode where the U. S. proposed that each nation be allowed one ABM installation around its capital and the Soviets accepted only to have the U. S. come back with a proposal for zero ABM. Why, after signing the SALT agreements limiting strategic arms, did the U. S. government turn around and announce an increase in spending on strategic weapons, including speed-up development of a new nuclear submarine, Trident? Again, Newhouse uncovers the *intra*-national bargaining that precedes any *inter*-national agreement, in this case a treaty between Kissinger and Admiral Thomas Moorer, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff:

> Kissinger and Admiral Moorer held an exchange that probably settled the SLBM [submarine-launched ballistic missile] issue, even if nothing was formally decided. Nixon needed the support of the Joint Chiefs for an agreement freezing Russia's numerical edge in both ICBM's *and* SLBM's. Moorer wanted White House support for speeding up the Trident submarine program. . . .
>
> The meaning of the exchange between Kissinger and Moorer was clear to those who heard it: The Navy would have Trident, assuming congressional approval, and the President would have the support of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff for an SLBM deal that gave the Soviets nearly half again as many missile-carrying submarines as the United States.

This private deal gave rise to an unlikely reversal of roles in the formal meeting that followed. Admiral Moorer supported the proposed agreement giving the Soviets a large numerical advantage in SLBMs, while ACDA Director Gerard Smith expressed reservations about formalizing this disadvantage.

Read Him Like a Book

The inside story of what President Nixon has dubbed—probably correctly—the most significant arms control agreement in history is fascinating and important. But the larger significance of Newhouse's study stems from its rather full and detailed picture of Kissinger's management—or mismanagement—of the American national security bureaucracy. Here, *Cold Dawn* illustrates and is complemented by the argument of a second important book of 1973, Stephen Graubard's *Kissinger: Portrait of a Mind.** In most respects, these two books could not be more different. One is first-rate investigative journalism; the other, an even rarer art form, contemporary intellectual biography. One is chock-full of highly classified information. The other starts from the proposition that the best source of insights about current American foreign policy is not locked up in some safe in Washington (or even hidden in a tape vault). Rather, it is freely accessible to anyone to consult, an open book, or at least a book that could be opened. But the two studies converge on a single subject: Henry Kissinger. If Newhouse has

*W.W. Norton. 1973

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provided the most revealing account available of Kissinger in action, Graubard has etched an unparalleled portrait of Kissinger's thought and mind.

How did Kissinger deal with the national security bureaucracy in SALT and how does this performance reflect the mind of Graubard's study? Along with the China spectacular and the escape from Vietnam, SALT constituted first-order business for President Nixon's Assistant for National Security Affairs. Of the three issues, SALT afforded the least opportunity for theatrics and the most necessity to confront the technical complexities of issues that mattered vitally to major Washington bureaucracies. Kissinger's style in handling SALT thus serves as a good facsimile of his strategy in dealing with bureaucracy.

SALT posed problems on many levels. First, SALT combined a congeries of difficult intellectual problems: what is the nature of military power in the nuclear age and how can it be used for political advantage? by what criteria are strategic arms to be judged sufficient? how do U. S. choices about strategic weapons affect Soviet choices about their nuclear arsenal? could compliance with a MIRV ban be verified? would the U. S. ABM work? how many Soviet submarines of which class, "Y," or "G," or "H," would be the equivalent of 41 Polaris subs? From the heights of grand diplomacy to the depths of technical minutia, this array of issues could boggle any mind. Yet a sensible SALT agreement presupposed answers to all these questions and more.

At a second level, each of these issues intersected with interests of major Washington bureaucracies. For the Air Force, Navy, and Army, strategic weapons are meat and potatoes. The agreement in question could conceivably force them to diet or even starve. ACDA is in the business of arms control and disarmament. A number of ACDA officials were committed to the proposal formulated under the Johnson Administration and wanted to move quickly to an

agreement—any agreement, their critics charged. Many of these issues involved analysis of enemy capabilities and estimates of likely next steps by the Soviet Union. The CIA thought it had a monopoly on answers to such questions. Without the cooperation of these bureaucracies, it would be impossible to answer the questions above. To use these bureaucracies without letting their interests dominate the final result—Kissinger saw that as the challenge.

At a third level, SALT touched the nerves of domestic politics. When the Nixon Administration took office, ABM was emerging as a major target for a coalition of arms controllers, senators, scientists, and citizens concerned about living next door to a nuclear warhead. The Administration moved quickly to change the name of the ABM system—from Sentinel to Safeguard. (The wonders of Madison Avenue come to Washington.) It also proposed relocating the missiles away from cities. Nevertheless, in the summer of 1969, half the Senate voted against the ABM authorization. Nor were the negotiations invulnerable to attack from those who feared the Administration would give away too much, as Senator Jackson showed when the President brought home the

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treaty. To align the agreement and the required domestic support by adjusting the agreement on one side and leading the public on the other, while avoiding a domestic policy debate—this required a deft touch.

Last but not least, there were the Russians. Presumably, their side of the bargaining was no less complicated than our own. Each government had to find some way of solving its multi-layers of problems while at the same time settling on a point at which the two sides could converge.

Could a single mind wrap itself around all that? Kissinger tried. The system he created may have been devious; it certainly was ingenious.

Touching All the Bases

Kissinger began by dismantling the previous national security decision-making system and discrediting its analyses and conclusions. He directed the bureaucracy to start afresh and produce a comprehensive review of U. S. strategic needs and all strategic implications of SALT. As SALT became more active, he created a high-level review committee, the "Verification Panel," which, like all the high-level review committees, he chaired himself. The work of the committee was done by a working group, chaired by Larry Lynn, a Kissinger deputy, and a series of task forces with representatives from all relevant agencies. Kissinger demanded that the working group and task forces not formulate agency positions or preferences. Instead, he would accept only analyses of issues, options, and the merits and demerits of each option.

This mechanism served not only to define basic issues, clarify critical information, and identify options, it also provided a forum in which to consult the relevant interests and to make sure they *felt* consulted. In hammering out the alternatives and their costs and benefits, the groups generated momentum toward consensus and pressure to get on board, even when specifying such a wide range of options that Kissinger and Nixon retained maximum room for maneuver.

These studies yielded nine major alternative proposals for the first round of formal SALT negotiations. Powerful bureaucracies strongly opposed several of the alternatives, but the White House insisted that all options be explored and promised no decisions would be made without further consultation. Kissinger began referring to the nine alternatives as "building blocks" that could be reshuffled to make new packages if necessary—again, widening White House discretion.

As the formal negotiations began, the Washington circle privy to U. S. positions drew tighter—to minimize leaks, it was said. Only high-ranking representatives of major agencies with important stakes had a "need to know." The Verification Panel negotiated positions in Washington and communicated them to Smith, chairman of the American SALT delegation. He and the other delegates bargained with the Russians. An example will serve to illustrate the process. In March, 1971, after literally tens of thousands of man-hours of study of the ABM problem, the Verifi-

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cation Panel met to decide what Smith should propose to the Russians. Only the principals attended the meeting. They discussed the issue fully. The President decided and issued instructions to Smith. He would propose an ABM deal that would allow the Russians to keep their one ABM around Moscow, while the U. S. completed the four Safeguard sites for which funds had been appropriated. In Vienna, Smith put the proposal to Semenov, who rejected it out of hand. The negotiations clarified familiar, non-negotiable positions, Smith informed Washington of the deadlock, and the cycle began again.

Newhouse now reveals that underneath this superstructure was a first circle. Not the thousands who with top-secret-plus clearances worked on the studies that fed the task forces of the Verification Panel; nor the hundreds who participated in formulating the U. S. negotiating position on ABM; nor the tens who met in rooms freshly swept of all foreign bugs to decide whether the U. S. would offer an agreement with four ABM sites or zero. Instead, underneath all this there were but two, Kissinger and Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin, and Kissinger had an informed constituency of only one.

Unbeknownst to the thousands, or the hundreds, or even the tens, Kissinger created a "back-channel" where he negotiated the most serious business. They were not consulted; they were not even informed. When Ambassador Smith tabled the U. S. proposal outlined above—four ABM sites for the U. S. to one for Moscow—Semenov, as Newhouse records it,

> was mildly intriguing. Unlike Smith, who had been kept in the dark, he *was* informed of the back-channel Kissinger-Dobrynin talks, the locus of the real action. Thus, he understood that the four-to-one proposal was a negotiating ploy.

The American delegates earnestly presenting a proposal that the back-channel meant as a negotiating ploy for marking time, the Soviet delegates initially impressed with the Americans' fastidiousness in going through all the motions, then the dawning recognition that their American counterparts did not know—this is a scene Kafka would be proud of. The Soviet bureaucracies proved less pliant than their American equivalents, or Dobrynin and Brezhnev less manipulative.

Digging into Capital

As if Newhouse's revelations were not enough, now Graubard's studies add insult to injury. According to Graubard, the thousands and hundreds and tens of insiders and we outsiders as well have no one but ourselves to blame for our ignorance of Kissinger's back-channels. That Kissinger would bamboozle the bureaucracy in this fashion, paying the costs to reap the benefits, should come as no surprise. A nodding acquaintance with Kissinger's writings would suggest a strong anti-bureaucratic bias. More careful reading of his writings would find that he has rather precise views about what bureaucracies both can and cannot do. Those views point directly to this style of management in SALT. It is no accident that he has used the same strategy in handling Vietnam, China, and most recently the Middle East.

Read what Kissinger has written. The concluding chapter of his first book, *A World Restored*, bears the title "The Nature of Statesmanship." He declares:

> The *spirit of policy and that of bureaucracy are diametrically opposed*. The essence of policy is its contingency; its success depends on the correctness of an estimate which is in part conjectural. The essence of bureaucracy is its quest for safety; its success is calculability. Profound policy thrives on perpetual creation, on a constant redefinition of goals. Good administration thrives on routine, the definition of relationships which can survive mediocrity.... The effort to administer politically leads to total irresponsibility, because *bureaucracies are designed to execute, not to conceive.* [italics added]

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His most celebrated book, *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy*, reiterates the point in stronger language:

> There is an inherent tension between the mode of action of a bureaucracy and the pattern of statesmanship.... It is no accident that *most great statesmen were opposed by their 'experts' in their foreign offices*, for the very greatness of the statesman's conception tends to make it inaccessible to those whose primary concern is with safety and minimum risk. [italics added]

Just months before going to Washington as Assistant for National Security Affairs, he put it as candidly as anyone could ask:

> Because management of the bureaucracy takes so much energy and precisely because changing course is so difficult, many of the *most important decisions are taken by extra-bureaucratic means*. Some of the key decisions are kept to a very small circle while the bureaucracy happily continues working away in ignorance of the fact that decisions are being made.... When bureaucracies are so unwieldly and when their internal morale becomes a serious problem, an unpopular decision may be fought by brutal means, such as leaks to the press or to congressional committees. Thus, the only way secrecy can be kept is to *exclude from the making of the decision all those who are theoretically charged with carrying it out.* [italics added]

That someone with these views should treat the national security bureaucracy as he did in SALT is—as Graubard would have it—really not remarkable.

Bureaucracy, however, is only one subject, and that not the most important, where Graubard shows Kissinger's current thoughts and actions to have been foreshadowed by his earlier writings. Indeed, the resemblance at some points looks more like a blueprint than a shadow. Graubard demonstrates that peace, more specifically a "structure of peace," was, as Graubard reveals, Kissinger's preoccupation, going back at least to his Ph.D. dissertation (which was published as *A World Restored*). The thesis is subtitled "Metternich, Castlereagh, and the Problems of Peace." Kissinger chose this topic as a vehicle for exploring what he regarded as the prerequisite of peace, namely a stable international order. According to Kissinger's reading of the record, Metternich and Castlereagh imposed their principles on Europe and thereby produced a stable international order that made possible a century without war. What was the legitimating principle of this international order? Kissinger identifies it as the concept of *peace*. Whoever would discover the meaning of President Nixon's pronouncements about the structure of peace should study carefully *A World Restored*.

In preparing foreign policy position papers for Nelson Rockefeller's unsuccessful bid for the Republican presidential nomination in 1968, Kissinger applied his earlier writings to most of the major issues on the foreign policy agenda. On relations with China, he took a very positive position, urging "wide-ranging exploration." On relations with the Soviet Union, he hoped for some agreement on "principles of international conduct." The examples go on and on. (As I read them, I couldn't help recalling Kissinger musing as he left Cambridge for Washington. He wouldn't have time to acquire any new ideas on the job, he said. He would simply spend the intellectual capital he had accumulated.)

Why Kissinger is Different

Graubard's purpose, however, is not to remind us that old dogs seldom learn new tricks, or to pluck pointers from the past that predict the future. His aim is much more ambitious. His central argument can perhaps be summarized briefly in three propositions:

1) Henry Kissinger is unique among individuals who have held high government positions in the U. S., perhaps most of all because of his intellectual character.

2) Kissinger has a grand conception of international relations and an

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ambition for American foreign policy that differs radically from views held by most of the leaders who have shaped American foreign policy in the post-war world (or who aspire to make policy post-Kissinger).

3) In contrast with the publications of most policy-makers (and would-be policy-makers), Kissinger's scholarly writings state clearly and straightforwardly his full, frank, and deepest views.

These are heady arguments. This reader is still not fully persuaded. The first and third propositions are easier to accept than the second. But as one re-examines Kissinger's writings with Graubard's as a tutor, even the second proposition gains credibility. Kissinger's works do contain a lot of what Robert Solow has labeled "big think." He has addressed most of the large questions—peace, war, international order, legitimacy, statesmanship, and the like—and not just stated the problem or structured the issues, but declared himself. As Graubard points out, he writes less as historian searching for what really happened, or as social scientist sifting evidence to uncover general regularities, than as philosopher of old. He pronounces. Almost in the manner of Kant's *Perpetual Peace*, he tries to create and discover an intellectual edifice. Do Kissinger's pronouncements hang together and form a consistent, distinctive intellectual system? Graubard says yes, and his claim deserves to be taken seriously.

Graubard's minimum message, however, is simply: read what Kissinger wrote. What Graubard finds surprising is that journalists and commentators and foreign policy pundits have failed to consider carefully the best source of insights in the city of Washington about current American foreign policy. Instead, they have neglected the writings altogether, or been satisfied with unfounded simplifications, as in frequent references to Metternich or Bismarck as Kissinger's heroes. Graubard finds this really remarkable—indeed he remarks on it at great length. That journalists and commentators and pundits should not have read. That they should not have thought. One suspects Graubard is teasing, but he isn't. For better or worse, he is a man of incorrigibly high expectations.

Graubard restricts himself to *exposition* of Kissinger's writings, deliberately withholding his own comments and judgments. The book he did not write, but which we sorely need, would *analyze* Kissinger's conception of international relations, stating its propositions as precisely as possible, and comparing and contrasting his views with propositions believed by those with competing conceptions. Only then could one confidently judge his contention that Kissinger has a substantially different intellectual system, and a better one. In any case, Graubard's thesis that Kissinger's writings merit careful reading and analysis by everyone seriously interested in American foreign policy is certainly right.

Dealing with Careerists

What about the book Newhouse did not write? There are really two. One study would analyze systematically the effects of decision-making *a la* Kissinger and Nixon on the quality of the outcome achieved and the strength of the government that remains. Since the New Deal, the U. S. has acquired a "Permanent Government" of several million individuals. These people are not less public-regarding than other citizens; most are more so. These individuals are organized in bureaucracies that form the greatest part of the U. S. government's capacity to identify problems, create programs, choose and act on the innumerable issues it copes with daily. Like all collections of people, these bureaucracies develop their own conceptions of what is best for the country. Their conceptions are inevitably somewhat parochial, reflecting internal organizational demands as well as the problems their programs

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are meant to solve. These organizational preferences often conflict with priorities of a new administration. Administration priorities justifiably claim precedence. Citizens elect the President, not the bureaucracy.

In the American pluralist system, however, power is so dispersed that successful, sustained, programmatic activity requires considerable cooperation and consensus. Where the bureaucracy is a necessary instrument for carrying out policy day-to-day or week-to-week, the bureaucracy must be led and educated and convinced. Unhitched from the bureaucracy, a President and his chosen few can go to China or sign a SALT agreement. They cannot manage the majority of foreign policy issues, which are pervasive, technical, continuous, and intimately involve domestic interests and agencies. Nor will issues like Trident procurement, or wheat sales, or international monetary adjustments, or any of the thousand similar problems that make up the bureaucracy's daily bread be well managed in the absence of strong administration leadership. (Even the issues Kissinger would keep to himself grind to a halt when he is called elsewhere, as the lack of progress in SALT II negotiations shows.)

Perhaps we should resurrect Thomas Jefferson's proposal to disestablish the government every 25 years. All those who had worked as full-time employees for the executive branch of the federal government during the previous decade would be honorably discharged, but disqualified from service in the next decade. Some people said that Kissinger came back from those long conversations in Peking with a secret plan. Maybe Jefferson's proposals could legitimate an American equivalent of Mao's Cultural Revolution; the current crop of unregenerate, disgruntled bureaucrats would be dismissed to the countryside: a new generation schooled in the new consciousness would be recruited to take their places. The proposal has considerable appeal. If put to the American public in a referendum, I suspect it might win. But unless Kissinger has in mind a program of this sort, his effort to construct a new American foreign policy without genuinely involving the foreign policy bureaucracy is likely to be self-defeating.

A second book Newhouse did not write would inquire into the significance of SALT. The SALT agreements do go "to the knuckle of security," as Newhouse says. One agreement limits each side to two ABM sites, thus ratifying the fact that each nation's population lives as hostage to the other's nuclear missiles. Whenever the Russian leaders give the word, a hundred million Americans will die a quick death—and vice versa. Thus the two governments do have an overriding common interest. A second treaty freezes the number of strategic offensive missiles each can have during the five-year life of the agreement, explicitly accepting the goals of equality in nuclear forces rather than superiority and eschewing any efforts to gain unilateral advantage. These agreements do not stop the arms race. They did not even reduce spending on strategic arms. Nevertheless, they may constitute a central pillar in an edifice in Kissinger's mind. If we take Graubard's advice and read Kissinger's writings, we may even see how the construction could be called, with poetic license, a structure of peace.

Kissinger *has* worked a fundamental change in U. S.-Soviet relations. His skill in exaggerating common interests between the two countries and making these issues the focal point for the leaders of both governments exhibits diplomacy of the highest order. What statesmanship adds to diplomacy, in Kissinger's view, is conception of goals: a viable vision. As his quotations insist, statesmanship must contain a hefty portion of conjecture, contingency, and chance, as the statesman seeks to impose his conception on the underlying forces. In this case, we must hope for our sakes that Kissinger wins his bet. ■

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Considering the intellectual caliber of many of the participants, the dearth of lasting literature from the New Left is puzzling. Whatever the cause, whenever I hit a direct quotation from an SDS publication or speech, of which there are many in Kirkpatrick Sale's book,* my eye skidded off the page. Like the more Byzantine memos which float around establishment bureaucracies, SDS communications on the whole are pretentious, clogged bunches of words which, if you make that extra effort to decipher them, yield flimsy, if not absurd ideas. As a dogged pre-McLuhanian (less in age than in conviction), I believe that the use of language reflects the clarity and quality of thought—is a measure, even, of truth. Was this muddle the fuel for that intensely felt, enduring protest, or did it draw its inspiration from blind, emotional anti-authoritarianism, uninformed moralism, and an intuitive certainty on that one clear-cut issue, the Vietnam war? The collapse of the movement—the rapid wilting of commitment—supports this theory, and yet you cannot read this book without being startled by the incisive insights buried in the garbage.

SDS confronted American liberalism with the inadequacy of looking at the Cold War as the creature of the Soviet Union alone. In 1962 criticism of the U. S. role amounted to pro-communism in the eyes of a liberal community which was morbidly sensitive to charges of being unpatriotic and soft on totalitarianism. Today the old SDS views are the stock in trade of the stodgiest professor of political science. And SDS punctured the deep-set, complacent belief in incremental reform, forcing liberals to face such truths as that you will never solve the welfare problem by adding $25 to social security paychecks. The effect of this new way of looking at the system on the liberal community was

**SDS*. Kirkpatrick Sale. Random House, 1973.

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The Legacy of SDS

by Suzannah Lessard

so broad that by 1971 a man like Patrick Moynihan was lobbying from inside a Republican White House for a guaranteed income. In the outcome of that particular tale lies an apt symbol for the sad end of SDS: Moynihan's plan was defeated in large part because of "radicals"—George Wiley and his welfare mothers, who stormed Capitol Hill and successfully duped the liberal flanks into joining them in their "non-negotiable demand" for $5,600 per annum rather than $2,000. But the destructive impact of the New Left's last, hare-brained forays against the system hardly invalidates the brilliant seminal thought that emerged in the earlier years.

What was it all about? Nobody seems to know as far as I can see. Kirkpatrick Sale's book is not helpful because he writes the history of SDS as it officially viewed itself during its lifetime. The documents, the speeches, the committees and subcommittees, the conventions, the strategies, the factional spats are all painstakingly documented, immemorable, uninformative. There is practically no reference to what was going on outside the organization—for example, the assassination of Robert Kennedy gets one line, a slight which may be "correct" in terms of radical philosophy (the system, not the personalities in it, makes the difference), but this hardly minimizes the personal impact which that event must have had on people deeply involved in politics. And there is almost equally little about what actually went on within the organization, very little about what members were feeling and thinking, little attempt to use the advantage of hindsight to extract the genuine from the detritus, to distinguish between self-image and the truth. Evidently caught between a desire to sound at least semi-radical himself, and a wish to construct a sound history, Sale ends up giving us the shards of a history. We know he bails out somewhere between the Port Huron Statement and the explosion of 11th Street, but he apparently doesn't know where, and this uncertainty puts

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an odd blur into even the strictly factual material, fogging out completely the truly significant dimensions of the story.

Tampering with the Evidence

My impression that Sale has both desiccated and sugared his material was confirmed by his treatment of the one major event I experienced firsthand, the Columbia student uprising of 1968. For example, throughout the book he ignores the impact on SDS of the parallel black movement, but when dealing with Columbia he even overlooks the impact of blacks from *within* the protest. There is no mention of the fact that during the very first sit-in at Hamilton Hall, the black students in effect kicked the white students out (whereupon they went to Low Library) and that throughout the sit-in, black Hamilton Hall acted with a studied, scornful independence which automatically enhanced their stature and drove the white students to prove themselves. They were rumored incorrectly to have guns and explosives (the real McCoy) inside, stories of the discipline and fraternity of communal life in Hamilton (as opposed to the chaos in other buildings) circulated, they negotiated separately with the administration, and when they were cleared from the building rumors abounded that shots had been fired by the resistors. The truth when it emerged was a much crueler rebuke, for instead of sharing their white colleagues' romantic attraction to confrontation with the police, they rejected it. When the time for arrest drew near, they called friends, gave them all their money and valuables, and then, when the cops arrived, submitted without a flicker of resistance. The police treated them with kid gloves and then went on to the cavalier beating of uppity children which took place throughout the rest of the campus. "In order to be truly contemporary you have to be black," said a friend of mine at the time. That reverse prejudice was washed away with the sixties—it's hard to remember how strong it was—but to an extent it actually governed events at Columbia that spring. The whites *couldn't* fold if the blacks didn't. Even if they were aloof and uncooperative, the blacks in Hamilton represented both legitimacy and a challenge which the SDS leadership drew on heavily to keep the spirit of the troops from lagging.

They had a needling effect on another level too. Putting your feet up on Grayson Kirk's desk, drinking his brandy and smoking his cigars was, unavoidably, a juvenile act. The white radicals were inevitably caught in an image of child rebelling against parent. The blacks were not: they were symbolically parentless, the Romuluses and Remuses of the new world in which whites would have to prove themselves worthy of membership. The whites sought a physical confrontation with the police because they needed evidence that their violation of authority had been real and threatening. The blacks needed no such evidence that their cause was just.

Toughness and authenticity of commitment (how far are you willing to go?) were always the criteria of worth in the New Left. Sale retells the anecdote in which McNamara, surrounded by angry students during a visit to Harvard, became rattled and shouted that he too had been involved in left-wing political activity at college, with one difference: "I was both tougher and more courteous. . . I was tougher then and I'm tougher now." But the blacks were always the "toughest," they always appeared more committed than either the McNamaras or the white students. Their struggle was "real." The problem of the white radicals was making society notice them as a serious political force rather than as mere rebellious kids. Even when, in the endeavor to make the threat real, the hard-core whites became Weathermen, they were thought of by everyone (except evidently the Nixon White House

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which thought they were evil incarnate) as crazy—poor sick children. And the same liberal community which had looked upon Panther terrorism with guilty admiration (however exaggerated by the media, the violence was real in the imaginations of the onlookers, and however ambivalent and fearful, the admiration was unmistakable) sealed the double standard which had been taunting white radicals by condemning Weatherman activity without hesitation.

SDS and Old Soldiers

The point is not that the black movement dominated SDS from afar, but that the true history of SDS cannot be told as though it took place in a vacuum, unrelated and unaffected by the turbulent world in which it grew. Even more counter-productive is Sale's practice of transmitting the self-image of the organization rather than digging for the reality. This aspect of Sale's material, I fear, tells us more than that the author was not as probing as he could have been: it tells us something about his sources. It strongly suggests that many ex-SDSers live in a nostalgic, self-serving dream about what it all was really like, dishing out gilded versions of their memories to an interviewer like old forgotten soldiers glad of a rare audience, incapable of honestly analyzing their moment of glory. No literature of enduring value having been produced at the time, are there now going to be no honest, illuminating dissections of what happened? The danger of turning a political experience into a gilded mythology is not just that students of history are cheated, but that doing this freezes the period in time. If you personally participated in that experience, then you also freeze a part of yourself, thus eliminating the possibility of growth, and by extension the growth of a whole political generation. I would like to recount here my version of the second sit-in at Hamilton Hall, and the events leading up to it, not only to set the record straight against Sale, but to open lines of inquiry into what the New Left meant to us all, politically, personally.

The second sit-in at Hamilton Hall was white, and took place exactly a month after the first bust. The purpose of the sit-in was to protest the suspension of the leaders of the first coup. I was, at the time, a student at Columbia School of General Studies, an adult education school, whose student body was a motley crew of varying age, talent, and background. Like most G. S. students, I was comparatively detached from the university, free-lancing through its resources to wrest what I could from it, two years older than most undergraduate seniors, and far less involved in academic life than most graduate students, many of whom were bound for academic careers, and were therefore more like the younger faculty in their attitude ("this is going to be my world") than

the shadow in the cave

the broadcaster, his audience, and the state

Anthony Smith

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the transient mass of undergraduates. I was also until this time apolitical, my parents vaguely identified with the anti-McCarthy left of the fifties but more through friendship and professional association than a tendency towards political activism.

My civil rights activities consisted of a march in New York up to the Hotel Theresa in Harlem (I don't remember the year), where Joan Baez appeared, a tiny figure on a balcony, and sang "Blowin' in the Wind." I was moved by the black people who leaned out of windows and waved at the white middle class marching by, although the "good feeling" was mixed with a sense of foolishness, particularly as we solemnly sang over and over again with the patience of slaves in chains, "We shall overcome." I was acutely uncomfortable when that righteousness turned into a loud, heated chant, "Wallace must go," because the mob emotion it generated against an individual conjured up, for me, a lynching. (This impression carried over into a half-hearted attitude towards all the marches and rallies which followed, in which I invariably felt both seduced and antagonized by crowd emotions.) Before this I had not gone South on the buses with my friends to advance the cause of desegregation, partly because I didn't have any money, partly because I was uncomfortable with the idea of a lot of very young Northerners marching into what amounted to another land to force the wicked inhabitants to mend their ways.

Those days are now enshrined, but when I hear them proudly retold, I still recoil from the lurid, inhuman colors in which the Southern whites are painted—they were racists only, not people—and the total blindness of the crusaders to the arrogant violation of their own invasion in the eyes of the inhabitants. I know the Civil Rights bill probably never would have been passed without the work which this one-sided sentimentality accomplished, and believe the good outweighs the violation, but still cannot bring myself to revel in the glory.

Home from a Bust in a Cab

Then Columbia blew up, and it was my political baptism, because for the first time I couldn't just go home and comment cleverly to my friends; drawn to the campus like a filing to a magnet, I was forced to take a personal stand—or at least to try. I went into Fayerweather Hall, where the least ideological sit-in was in progress, but soon found myself angered by the pounding futility of participatory democracy and exhausted by the milling of packed-in humanity. Finally I must admit I was revolted by a disgusting tub of spaghetti which was dispensed on Wonder Bread. (Culinary elitism, I'm ashamed to admit, runs through my abortive relationship to the counter-culture. Years later this sub-pattern of alienation became clear to me with a burst of deja-vu when the sainted Hog Farm served me brown rice—folded into a slice of Wonder Bread.) But I hope this squeamishness was not the only reason why I decided to leave Fayerweather that day.

I finally ended up with a group which appropriately, though without humor or embarrassment, dubbed itself "The Stepsitters and Sympathizers" (one of my more impressive titles). We became an auxiliary of the faculty group which assumed the role of standing between the police (which were forever rumored to be about to attack) and the students inside. It was an easy, blameless, though not particularly gratifying, position to take. The would-be Che Guevaras inside the building were far more appealing than the perplexed tweedy characters who adopted the half-way (less courageous?) position on the outside. I spent those days outraged by the administration's reaction to the protest, yet lukewarm about most of the issues, although by the end all the issues were buried under the sheer intensity of the confrontation.

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Then at last came the bust. The explosion of the emotional powder keg. I can only explain my behavior that night by saying that I went out of my mind. My behavior was the fulfillment of that glimmer of uncontrol which had frightened me on the march to the Theresa Hotel. It started in those moments of inaction between the time the policemen lined up and the charge into the building; the Step-sitters saw it all, going from building to building. Goaded by our ineffectuality, we resorted to vicious personal taunting of individual policemen (often drawing class lines—they were stupid, etc.—an irony lost on us at the time). Then after the buildings had been cleared, a senseless circular battle played itself out. The cops would chase us off campus. We would climb back in. We would mass. They would charge with a flying wedge. We would learn to part just as the wedge flew at us headlong. They learned to pretend to come at us in a flying wedge, stop dead and charge to the side. They would drive us off. We would surge back. Finally the action moved to the street (I think the police simply left the campus) where mounted cops would charge knots of people who would retreat like a wave in slow motion. With the compulsion of an addict I kept seeking to put myself in the way of a charge. When at last, at four o'clock in the morning, it all died down, I took a taxi home. I have no idea what was going through my mind.

Red Armbands and Elite Weddings

The period of the strike, which followed the bust and lasted until the end of the school year, was for me a period of utter confusion; I was groping for my principles, and a coherent political stand was completely beyond me. I list here several unrelated memories which subsequently have become touchstones in my thinking about the New Left. An Argentinian with whom I was studying Greek stepped out of his stuffed shirt to give passionate, bitter prophesies of a reaction from the right. He was saying that one should not seek change because of that risk, that one's political actions should be governed by that fear, a craven attitude which was to me the breath of death itself. Adults of good will who entered into those violent arguments between generations which marked the time, seemed to echo, in more muffled terms, the Argentinian's position. Unable to attribute greed or self-preservation to their recoil from the risks of radical change (exactly what change was unclear, but that didn't matter), I could see only a fear of growth, again the instinct of death—an abdication of hope in capitulation to fear, a shrinking away from luminous possibilities towards safe, blandly, mechanistically destructive mediocrity, and a projection of human beings as slaves of their own structures, incapable of transcending the dross in their nature to act on the gold.

I wore a red armband proudly about town with an almost military pride, which I look back on with a shudder because the badge of group identification somehow absolved me, in my own mind, of individual accountability. I was disturbed, upon talking to friends close to the leadership, to discover that they reacted emotionally to any criticism, no matter how small or friendly, of SDS. But when I wore my jeans and armband to a bridal shower on the East Side, I listened with patronizing disgust to my proper friends' tentative remarks about Columbia and looked upon the rather expensive presents (I had brought none) with superior distaste. (I remember in particular a teak cheeseboard sunk in marble.) I latched on to that distaste because in a sea of contradictory reactions this one was clearcut: this I really feel (hence, believe).

I'm not sure it was during the period of the strike—it might have been before—that several invited speakers were prevented by radicals from speaking on campus. The idea

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that a university should not become financially dependent upon the beneficence of the defense establishment because the automatic pressure to support defense policies would interfere with free thought thus became the idea that a university should be militantly partisan. The rights of the speakers, and the rights of the conservative students, who by this time had become a vocal minority, played no restraining role. These values were extended right into the SDS operation. Not only were people with even mildly opposing views not allowed to speak, but the very idea of thinking things out became identified as a weakness. The rule of the day was largely empty rhetoric, the rousing of emotions, the heralding of emotions as belief, and action. SDS was not a civil libertarian organization—I can see that now—but at the time my reaction was hazy. The excuse was that the cause was such an embattled one, such a long shot, and yet so vital that such non-violent travesties were merely pragmatic peccadilloes.

Caught in the Middle

Then exactly a month after the first bust, a second sit-in gathered in Hamilton Hall. Sale tells it the way SDS wanted it to be, which also, evidently, is the way some members remember it.

The answer to the February puzzle:

F	O	R	M	E	R	G	O	V	E	R	N	O	R	
E		O		N		R		I		E		N		P
D	E	M	O	C	R	A	T	S		T	I	T	H	E
E		A		L		S		U		R		H		T
R	E	N	T	A	L	S		A	C	A	D	E	M	E
A				V				L		C		T		R
L	I	T	H	E		R	E	A	C	T	I	O	N	S
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F	E	R	M	E	N	T	E	D		M	I	N	O	T
A		A		Y		I				O				I
M	O	N	T	E	G	O		M	I	N	I	M	U	M
O		T		B		N		O		T		I		E
U	V	U	L	A		I	S	N	T	A	T	A	L	L
S		L		L		N		E		N		M		A
	D	A	Y	L	I	G	H	T	S	A	V	I	N	G

For most of them (the radicals) this round of the battle would be decisive: the university announced that day that any student arrested when the police cleared the buildings would be suspended, and the question of whether to be full-time students or full-time radicals was posed irrevocably that night. Juan Gonzalez defined the issue: "It was a confrontation which showed how much we believed in what we were fighting for. If our goals went beyond the university, then we should have been willing to leave it if necessary. Were we students who were politically active, or activists who happened to be students."

For most of SDS the answer was clear. In the end 70 young radicals made their career decisions that night, to which the actual calling-in of the police and the ensuing brutality was secondary. Weatherman was beginning to take shape.

In actual fact, because a second arrest was a far graver threat than suspension—leading possibly to jail—most of the people who had been arrested the first time around left the hall when arrests became likely, thus leaving a clear majority of older, comparatively moderate people like myself who, for whatever reason, had not sat in the first time around. The threat of suspension merely stiffened our spines; it was arrogant, but also not very frightening because it seemed unlikely that the administration would suspend this rather respectable group without also suspending the 700 so far more rowdy activists who had been arrested the first time, a speculation which turned out to be accurate, as the suspensions were revoked later that summer. Secondly, suspension for a semester is hardly an insuperable obstacle to an academic career. I don't remember any crucial career decisions being made that night. What I do remember is an open rebellion against SDS.

The group may have been moderate, but the SDS leadership controlled the microphone. The first vote was whether to stay or leave. This was preceded by a general agreement by most individuals to abide by the decision of the majority. The majority

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then voted to stay. SDS then ordered to leave those who had voted to go—they wanted a hard core, people (I now understand) who would fulfill their fantasy of preparedness to make a critical career choice. However, having agreed to abide by a majority decision, nobody left. The leadership ranted, insulted, berated. They took the vote several times, trying to change the terms. Nobody left. The next issue was whether or not to resist arrest. The leadership was clearly in favor of resistance. The majority again was not. Redundant vote-taking was repeated, interspersed with strident speeches, but far from turning the tide, SDS' blatant effort to manipulate the group resulted in an increase in the no-resistance vote. Finally, not wanting to risk a second arrest themselves, most of the leadership left.

The irony of that evening was that many of us ended up staying and getting arrested as much in defiance of SDS as of the administration. It would be wrong, however, to paint a picture of the Hamilton group as a noble, reasonable body. We became set against the crude manipulations of SDS, but we generated our own heady mob rule and practiced the doctrine that thinking in itself is reprehensible. In the middle of the furious debate over whether the minority who had voted to leave should go, a debate suffused with all sorts of auxiliary issues by SDS, a distraught young man darted to the microphone, seized it, and announced that he was leaving because he could no longer make sense out of anything; he was going to go to a quiet little cabin in the mountains where the silence was broken only by the wind in the pines to think things over. His audience hooted at the ludicrous incongruity of his sentimental image, and as he hastily picked his way through the seated crowd to the door, he was booed. We couldn't know that the apparently fickle young man was actually in the extreme vanguard. For three years later large numbers of the hard-core New Left had followed his pathbreaking course to a blissful apolitical life in the hills of New England, reenacting that perennial pendulum sway of the left from Union Square to Vermont.

Early that morning we filed into paddy wagons. I remember the New York dawn through the barred rear window. At the station we were searched by policewomen and as we emerged on the way to our cells, Ti-Grace Atkinson, wearing big dark glasses, asked us expectantly if we had been mistreated. Nobody had. We were packed into several cells, which was uncomfortable because you couldn't lie down and go to sleep. Later we got our chance at our one phone call. Keenly aware that I was exercising the inviolable right of the accused, I called a friend and had a pleasant, sophisticated little social chat. That afternoon, when I got home, I found a note from my militant younger sister. It read, "Bravo!" Bravo?

The Lasting Impact is Internal

The New Left and the student movement now look like a feisty little storm isolated in time: the speed with which it sank into oblivion is eerie. Kirkpatrick Sale alludes to far-reaching effects, but I find them hard to pin down. One can argue both that the New Left precipitated a settlement in Vietnam and that it retarded peace, and probably can make a stronger case for the latter. Universities and students appear to have reverted to their former character.

But there is another question: what will be the effect of the New Left on the evolution of the liberal-to-radical community in general? It's with this question in mind that I indulged in the preceding bit of autobiography, which is not history but the story of an educational experience. However insignificant the activities of the New Left may now appear in an historical sense, the people involved in them—even such a peripheral person as myself—went through

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an intense political experience which is bound to influence their thinking and behavior for the rest of their lives. The question is, *how* will it influence. Beyond what I know of a small circle of friends, I have no idea how representative I am—the only usefulness of listing my reactions may be that they provide a theory to be disproven. Whatever the case, these are the beliefs with which I emerged from the experience.

First, an almost doctrinaire belief in free speech. The experience of having acquiesced to the suppression of free speech—of having felt that instinct moving in me—has left such a deep impression that if I am ever again in a situation in which someone is denied self-expression on political grounds, I think I will have an extreme reaction. Such a practice would probably lead me to categorically dissociate myself from a cause, no matter how worthy. A corollary of this is an awareness of the importance of the rights of minorities—*all* minorities, not just social underdogs.

Secondly, instant suspicion of any reference to "the people" which clearly excludes the middle classes. The term Middle America was born when a mass of people made their political presence known mainly in reaction to the New Left. The isolated character of Sale's account reflects the truth in one sense—even for purpose of strategy, the New Left had practically no sensitivity whatever to the working and middle classes. They evidently thought of them as peasant revolutionaries might think of a tiny, supremely wealthy, decadent aristocracy, failing to realize that they were most of "the people." This is one of the reasons the movement died on the vine. There is a tendency throughout the left—old, new, liberal, and radical—to view the lower-middle and the middle-middle classes as antagonists to the cause and then talk romantically about "the people." (The doublethink, when it comes to the blue-collar constituency, is particularly blatant. On the assembly line they are the mythical "workers." In the voting booth they become the enemy.) The left has to learn to ask questions such as: disregarding what we now know Nixon to be, for what reasons did the majority reelect him, and among those reasons, which ones are sound—which reasons must be made a part of left-wing consciousness and policy?

Third, a knee-jerk reaction against mob emotion, and a detestation of anything remotely resembling the manipulation of crowds. A corollary of this is the danger of being sucked into the internal symbolism, standards, and psychodynamics which group activism creates, most notably the notion that the greater the risk, the more worthy the action, and the mistaking of feeling for belief.

Fourth, an abhorrence of the mentality which perceives politics as the primary vehicle for human potential, as the sum value of any given group.

The Questions Remain

These are hardly record-breaking conclusions. But insights learned through experience have a special force with all of us. If what I learned has anything to do with what others who shared the experiences learned, then perhaps one can read something of the future of the left in it. There are dangers in this, of course: the left has a way of over-learning from its mistakes. In fact, one of the most interesting parts of Sale's book is his account of the inflexible reaction to the baby SDS of an old left which saw the face of Stalin in every shadow.

These conclusions all fall into the category of principles of behavior, which have to be re-learned by each generation. But what will be the influence of the New Left on thought? There are the highly visible contributions, such as their approach to foreign policy, their exposure of the futility of incremental reform, and their distrust of all solutions imposed from the top—the way to promote prosperity is to pump up a gigantic,

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useless defense industry—in favor of thinking from the bottom up—what work needs to be done. But perhaps even more important is their reassessment of values which, even though many New Leftists ended up in the corner of nihilism—has triggered a groundswell of questioning. The definition of students as victims was ridiculous when cast in the overblown rhetoric of "oppression," etc., but they were right when they saw that many of the careers for which their education prepared them, and which the society expected them to pursue, were traps in which their life energy would be wasted. They rejected the status ladder and the notion that if you sat behind a big desk and did tax law for large corporations all day you were automatically a valuable member of society. Not only did they feel most of these plush job slots were a waste of time, but they suggested that people should consider themselves responsible for the social effects of the institutions to which they lent their talents. These two questions—what is the worth of what you do, and what is the effect, direct and remote, of what you do—were arresting, to say the least, in a world of impersonal mega-institutions and artificial, padded job slots. It's sad that so many of the questioners have since either dropped out into aimless inaction, or, unable to make the link between the idealistic theories of youth and the demanding realities of adulthood, have capitulated completely. It's sad, but it's by no means discouraging, because once those questions start getting asked, they don't go away. They go to the heart of the country's malaise, and once a sick body becomes aware of its sickness, the survival instinct is aroused and its corporate attention is not likely to wander.

Although it ended up with a twisted revolutionary fantasy, the New Left started out in reaction to that malaise in the first place. They were the children of affluence and they said that there was something desperately wrong with their world. Here is where the revolutionary changes must be made, they said, and they started asking the questions, from the bottom up.

That this questioning poked at the unprotected innards of the establishment was confirmed by its reaction—clumsy, reflexive, defensive, and by the uncontrollable escalation of the relationship between questioners and the questioned to an impasse in which both sides reverted to force. I lived through an intense educational experience at Columbia, from which I emerged with beliefs about political behavior which were mostly in reaction *against* the behavior of SDS. But I also saw there—we all did—in a flash the face of the establishment stung out of a complacent sleep, and, to everybody's suprise, I think, before it could adjust, it revealed itself to be as inflexible, bankrupt, and uncomprehending of the language of values as the SDS rhetoricians had made it out to be. Furthermore, we learned that the only real recourse such an establishment has to fall back on is force. The bust was an artificial confrontation and everybody went home the next day, but that doesn't render the realization that such force is the resource of a bankrupt system any less vivid. We were right, as Tom Huston's plan proved four years later. And some of us may not have been proud of the way we pressed the questions. But that didn't alter their urgency or the validity of the insight which prompted them. They were still hanging there, unanswered, several years later when the student population had returned to the fifties and copies of Charlie Reich were gathering dust on establishment bookshelves. The original questioners may have scattered and vanished since then or floundered into untenable self-destructive positions. But I know that I owe most of the lines of inquiry I have pursued in the years since that time directly to that small band who are becoming a smaller and smaller chapter in the history books as the century flows forward. ■

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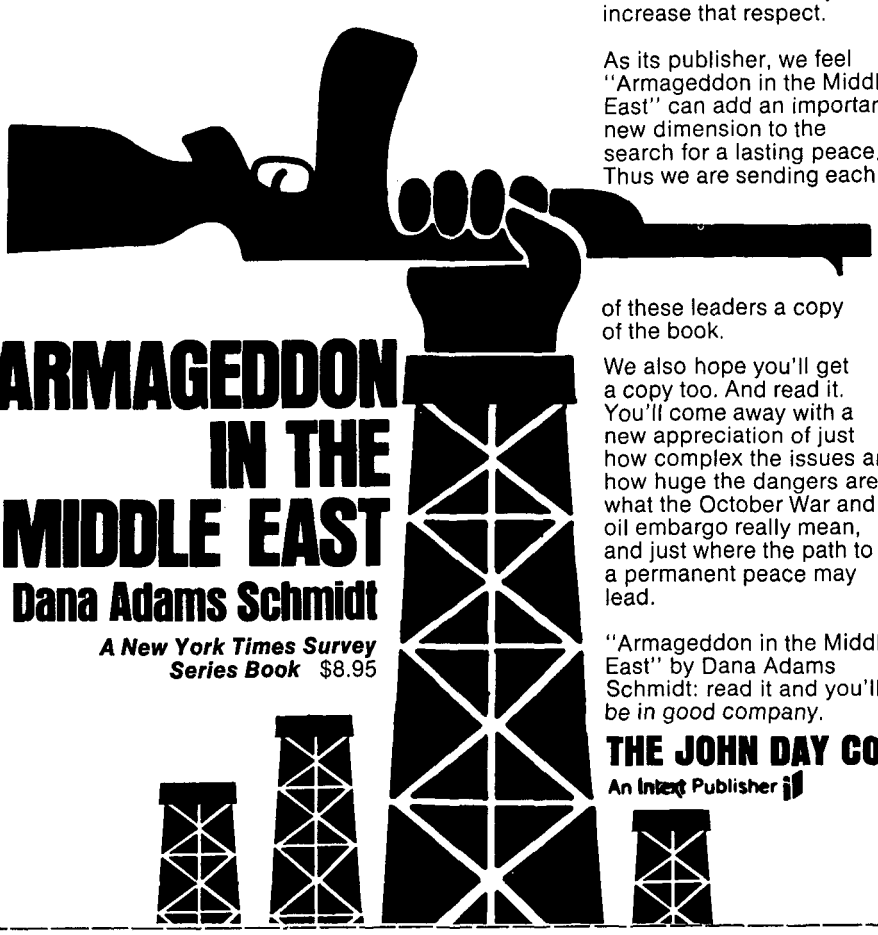

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political book notes

Public affairs books to be published in March

Alive in the City: Memoir of an Ex-Commissioner. August Heckscher. Scribner's, $8.95. An innocent establishmentarian encounters the New York City bureaucracy. A pleasant but slightly smug and not very enlightening memoir.

The American Condition. Richard N. Goodwin. Doubleday, $10. Goodwin adds an admirable depth, rigor, and precision to analyses of the inability of our economic and political institutions to increase individual freedom, which he defines in broadest terms to include those qualities of community and control over one's circumstances often felt to be missing in the modern bureaucratic state. To the extent that he sees a potential source of change, it is in a sharpened sense of "the immense and increasing gap between our physical capacity to increase freedom and the conditions of modern life." This is a serious book and worthy of close attention, yet it would have been much better had it been free of an unpleasant clay-tablets tone. Goodwin displays this when he gives virtually no factual illustration or evidence for his arguments.

The American People: A Noted Journalist Explores the Findings of the 1970 Census. E. J. Kahn, Jr. Weybright & Talley, $8.95. An alternately mind-numbing and fascinating survey of the results of the 1970 Census.

Choosing Our King: Powerful Symbols in Presidential Politics. Michael Novak. Macmillan, $7.95. This book is about the role of symbols in presidential politics. The author's thesis: "American civilization is best understood as a set of secular religious systems." Novak continually comes to the brink of breathtaking insight only to back away. Again and again where one example would clarify, it's not there; where two examples are needed, there's only one. Either Novak had a very undemanding editor or he is the kind of writer who, when asked to explain, invariably answers, "Oh, that would take another book if I went into it." Still, even though he's infuriating, Novak's mind is suggestive enough to make the book worth reading.

Connally: The Adventures of Big Bad John. Charles Ashman. Morrow, $7.95. Some

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interesting information about Connally is spoiled by comments like: "Can a poor boy from Texas find happiness in Washington, D. C.? Will the former Secretary of the Treasury become bedeviled by those who suffered his economic impositions, or is Big John just a phase we're going through?"

Cold Winter, Cold War. Robert G. Kaiser. Stein & Day, $8.95. One hopes the revisionist historians will read this excellent account of the year 1946-47 when the Truman Doctrine took shape. Most of the material concerns Britain and America, but there is an occasional fascinating glimpse of the other side, including this report of an interview Richard C. Hottelet of CBS conducted with Maxim Litvinov in 1946 while Litvinov was still serving in the Soviet foreign ministry:

> Hottelet asked Litvinov how he saw the prospects for East-West cooperation. "The outlook is bad," Litvinov replied. "It seems as though the differences between East and West have gone too far to be reconciled. . . .' Why? Litvinov cited two reasons. First: "There has been a return in Russia to the outmoded concept of security in terms of territory–the more you've got, the safer you are." And second: "As far as I'm concerned, the root cause is the ideological conception prevailing here [i. e. in Moscow] that conflict between the Communist and capitalist worlds is inevitable."
> Hottelet asked what the result would be if the Wester powers acquiesed to the then-current Soviet demands regarding Trieste, the Italian colonies, the Danube. . . . Litvinov replied, "It would lead to the West being faced, after a more-or-less short time, with the next series of demands."
> . . . Hottelet did not use the interview at the time, fearing that Stalin would not forgive Litvinov.

Corporate Power and Social Change: The Politics of the Life Insurance Industry. Karen Orren. Johns Hopkins, $10. With President Johnson looking on at the White House in September 1967, the Life Insurance Association of America announced that its member companies had pledged to invest $1 billion to bring housing and employment to the nation's slums. This book tells how the program really worked out. The prose is somewhat academic, but the story is important, and the author's analysis is often brilliant.

Critique of Legal Order: Crime Control in Capitalist Society. Richard Quinney. Little, Brown, $7.95.

Dateline America: Dispatch from an Altering Nation. Bennett Kremen. Dial, $7.95.

The Deep South States of America: People, Politics, and Power in the Seven States of the Deep South. Neal R. Peirce. Norton, $12.95.

Dying in the Sun. Donn Pearce. Charterhouse, $6.95.

If Britain Had Fallen. Norman Langmate. Stein & Day, $8.95. A forceful reminder of

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how close a call 1940 was and of how we all might react if the Himmlers (or even their milder Haldeman cousins) got control. Based on a television series, but better than that sounds.

To Irrigate a Wasteland. John W. Macy, Jr. California, $5.75. Evidence to substantiate the rumor that there are more people writing about public television than viewers watching it. This book is a reprint of a series of lectures Macy gave after resigning in 1972 as the first president of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. The lectures are well-intentioned, deadly dull, and contain nothing you haven't heard before.

Intellectual Skywriting: Literary Politics and *The New York Review of Books*. Philip Nobile. Charterhouse, $7.95.

Just a Country Lawyer: A Biography of Senator Sam Ervin. Paul R. Clancy. Indiana, $8.50. Clancy is a biographer of "the Ervin house was almost always filled with the smell of something cooking" school. The book contains some interesting snippets from "Senator Sam's" career: he was friends with Thomas Wolfe in college; he led the fight against an anti-evolution bill in the North Carolina legislature a few months before the Scopes trial; and in 1946 he spent seven months in the U. S. House of Representatives filling the unexpired term of his younger brother, Joe, who committed suicide. But it says nothing new about Watergate and is little help in unraveling the contradictions of a man in love with the Constitution but oblivious to the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Kindgom of Oil: The Middle East—Its People and Its Power. Ray Vicker. Scribner's, $7.95.

Lights on in the House of the Dead: A Prison Diary. Daniel Berrigan. Doubleday, $6.95.

Management: Tasks, Responsibilities, Practices. Peter F. Drucker. Harper & Row, $15.

Margin of Life: Population and Poverty in the Americas. Cornell Capa, J. Mayone Stycos. Grossman, $15/$7.50.

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Neighborhood Health Centers: What Do Demonstration Projects Demonstrate? Robert M. Hollister, et al. Lexington, $14. In 1965 the Office of Economic Opportunity began a program designed to combine anti-poverty efforts with new ideas in health care. By the time OEO was nearly abolished last year, more than 100 of these Neighborhood Health Centers had been

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Secrecy and Foreign Policy. Thomas M. Franck, Edward Weisband, ed. Oxford, $15. This useful collection of essays covers government secrecy in Canada, England, and the United States. The author-editors conclude "unauthorized information will remain democracy's principal antidote to unlimited, highly concentrated power."

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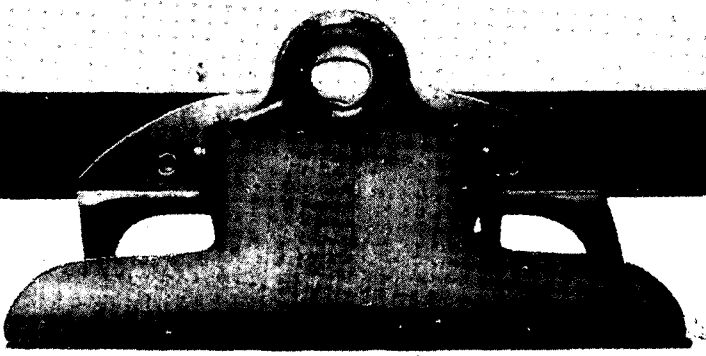

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